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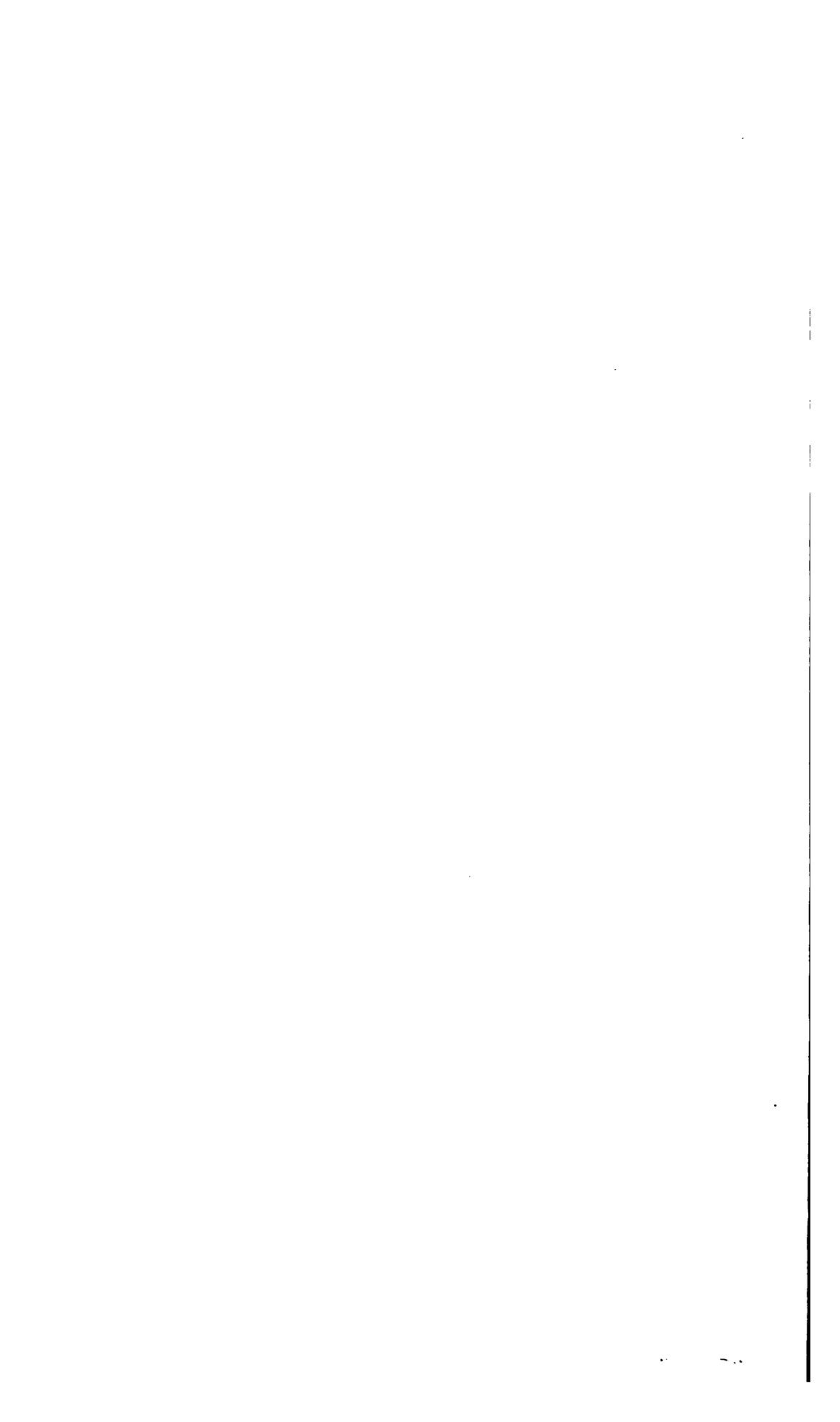
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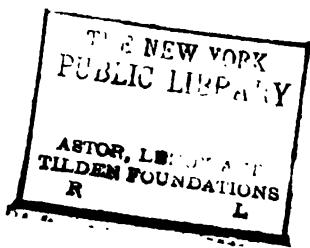


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1970-1971

1970-1971



INCIPIT ISTORIA BRIT
TONUM PEDITA AB ANACHORETA
MARCO FIVS DEGENIS SCO EPO
BRITTANIA INSULÆ.
a quodam brioco consule
romano dicta est; Haec
consurgit ab a frico boreali ad occi
demem uerba. Decc. in longitudine
milium. sc. in latitudine spatiis
habet: linea sum. xxv u. Currates.
. I. Cair h'ebrauc. II. Cair cent. III.
Cair gurcoc. III. Cairguor rhegein.
. V. Cairgufern. VI. Cairguoravie
gon. VII. Cair segeim. VIII. Cair
guin truis. IX. Cair merdin X. Cair
peris. XI. Cair lion. XII. Cair men
apit. XIII. Cair cararauc. XIV.
Cair cert. XV. Cair gloui XVI
Cair luilid. XVII. Cair graut XVIII.
Cair daun XVIII. Cair brizoc XX.
Cair meguaid. XXI. Cair maugurd.
XXII. Cair liglon. XXIII.
Cairguent XXIV. Caircollon.
XXV. Cair londein XXVI. Cair
guorcon XXVII. Cairlerion XXVIII.
Cairdras how. XXVIII. Cair pensa
uelcom XXX. Carr reun. XXXI.
Cair urnahc. XXXII. Cair clemiom
XXXIII. Cairlort com

THE
“HISTORIA BRITTONUM,”

COMMONLY ATTRIBUTED TO

NENNIUS;

FROM A MANUSCRIPT

LATELY DISCOVERED IN THE

LIBRARY OF THE VATICAN PALACE AT ROME;

EDITED IN THE TENTH CENTURY,

BY MARK THE HERMIT;

WITH AN

ENGLISH VERSION,

FAC SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL,

Notes and Illustrations.

BY

THE REV. W. GUNN, B. D.

RECTOR OF IRSTEAD, NORFOLK.

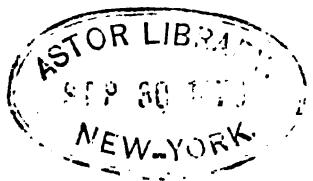
“Quale est, quod ex obscuræ specie enitentibus paulatim se ostendit inter lucem
tenebrasque medium.”—*H. Grotius de Ver.*

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN AND ARTHUR ARCH,
CORNHILL.

1819. w

NEW YORK
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J. M'Creery, Printer,
Black-Horse-Court, London.

NON VIAM
OLIGONI
VIA REGI

P R E F A C E.

THE editor, some years since, during a residence in Rome, obtained permission to search the library of the Vatican palace, for manuscripts relating to the history and affairs of this country. In the course of this interesting employment, an ancient exemplar of the " Historia Brittonum" was discovered. Presuming that one which dates much higher than any hitherto known, might be free from the inaccuracies and interpolations, long complained of in those of more recent date, a copy was procured; and it is this work to which the attention of the reader is solicited.

The original is on parchment, fairly written in double columns, and fills ten pages of a miscellaneous volume,¹ of the folio size. Great

¹ Consisting of ninety-three pages. The first eighteen contain—“ Nitardi Angelberti opus de rebus gallicis ;”—from p. 19 to 46,

care has been taken to obtain a faithful transcript of it; the orthography, however erroneous, is preserved, the capital and small letters correspond with the original; there is the same division of paragraphs; the forms of the points, and the location of them, though no guide to the sense, have one common resemblance; nor, except in a few instances, are any orthographical corrections attempted. So dry and abrupt is the style, as to set a literal version at defiance; in that now offered, the meaning of the author is, I trust, preserved. I once entertained a doubt, as to the propriety of one, since the perusal of the work will be limited to that description of readers, who will never refer to a translation as an authority, when the original is before them.

Respecting the age of the manuscript, the reader is in the course of it, thrice referred to the

"Frodoardi Chronicon ab obitu Karoli magni ad annum 978;"—from p. 47 to 57, the present work;—the genealogy of Karolus magnus, consisting of nine lines, then follows; and from p. 57, to the end—"Nonnull. Rom. Pontificum Vitæ a Stephano I. ad Hadriatum." From some conformity in date and subject, these are put together under the direction of the Scrittori of the library, part of whose employment it is to arrange and repair the MSS.; and who then consigns them to a binder, whose workshop is contiguous to the reading-room.

PREFACE.

v

tenth century; and the gentlemen officially employed in the library were unanimous in assigning it to that period.² From the title "Alexan-

² The subjoined quotations and remarks are favourable to their opinion. In MSS. of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, the characters called "uncials," and "demi-uncials" were principally used. They were rarely joined, nor were they separated into words: attempts towards punctuation are rarely seen. This form of writing was abandoned in the ninth century, and was succeeded by the small characters, much resembling those which were continued with variations, till the invention of printing. Of these, examples are engraved in Astle, (*Origin and Progress of Writing*,) Tab. 19. fig. 7. are of the ninth, and Tab. 20. fig. 1st, of the tenth century. In comparing the fac-simile from Mark, with these rules, we may observe, that, excepting in the title, and at the commencement of certain words, and these not uniformly, nor of the greatest importance, no mixture of capitals occurs, as in the uncial or demi-uncial; none of the letters are joined, though they are divided into words.

It is a matter of surprise, that the pauses required in reading and speaking, should not have earlier led to a correct system of punctuation. The ancient manner of writing among the Greeks and Romans was in capitals, placed at equal distances, without any blank spaces to separate the words, or any marks to divide or sub-divide the sentences. In some inscriptions and MSS. all the words are parted by dots or periods, in others, complete sentences, or paragraphs only, are distinguished by points or blank spaces. The origin of points is, however, of considerable antiquity, and both the Greeks and Romans had marks of distinction in their writings; but the first approach to punctuation, as now understood, consisted in the different position of one single point. "At the bottom of a letter it was equivalent to a comma; in the middle it was equal to a colon; and at the top it denoted a period, or the conclusion of a sentence. This mode was easily practised in ancient MSS. so long as they were written in

driana," we learn, that this manuscript once had capitals; but when small letters were adopted, (that is about the ninth century,), this distinction could not be observed; a change was therefore made in this manner of punctuation." (*Montf. Palæog. Recens.*: p. 41.) The use of the period ("Punto fermeo") in the early Italian poetry, is accurately described by *Crescenzi*, (tom. i. lib. vi. c. 16. *Dell. Ortografia, del puntata, e accentare.*) "In the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, writers began to leave a space between the words, and to make use of commas, colons, and periods; but without any degree of regularity." (*Essay on Punctuation*, p. 10.) If we examine the MS. before us by these rules, we shall find the colon, the period, and the semicolon, the latter, either of the form now used, or with the comma of it placed above, though generally in an oblique direction: there are no single commas. These points are all promiscuously inserted, not as in modern composition to mark the sense, but sometimes where none are wanted; at others, omitted where they are required. The plate in Astle last referred to, exhibits symptoms of the same irregular punctuation. One cause assigned for the arbitrary and unnecessary insertion of points, is explained by Marini; from whom it appears, that it was once customary for copiers and correctors of transcripts not to cancel errors, lest they should deform the MS., but to mark them by points, and that these were continued by subsequent scribes. "Antichissima usanza fu degli Scrittori, e Correctori de' Codici, le carte, sottoporre de' punti alle lettere o parole, che si vedevano cancellate, e come non esistenti per non deformare lo Scritto." (v. *Schow Charta papyr.*, p. 67.) "nel papiro (l. 80.) erasi per sbaglio fatto tuitio[n]em vestram in vece di tuitio[n] vestra, però non solo si sono messi i soliti punti sotto le lettere, che non si dovevano essere; ma e sopra e per mezzo, in tanto che tra questi restassero esse quasi chiuse ed incarcerate, &c. &c. &c." (Marini. *Papiri Diplomat. &c.* No. 182. Roma, 1805. Fol.) I have examined Schow, (*Roma*, 1788, 4to.) above referred to, with his *Annotatio[ne] Palæographica*, p. 110 of the same work; as also a passage in Winkelmann, (*Storia delle Ante del Disegno*, tom.

longed to that extraordinary personage, Alexandria Christina,³ who, in whatever country

(*ibid.* p. 199. *Roma, 1784.*) all of which treat of similar extraneous additions, but not so immediately to the subject as Marini. The greatest variety of points I have ever met with in the same MS., are to be seen in the great charter of Edgar, engraved in Hicke's Thesaurus. (*vol. i. p. 158.*) This beautiful specimen of ancient writing dates A. 964, of course very nearly contemporary with Mark, to which the letters bear a resemblance in form. The slight similarity to the saxon is in both much the same; and it is remarkable, that in the former, there are a few lines in that language, without any alterations in the letters.

On the grave accent, Scaliger remarks—“*Accentus graves, quæ dictionibus Latinis apponuntur, nostræ memoria introducti sunt et in libros illati; qui cum nihil juvent auditorem qui nescit utrum sit accipendum quantum aut quantum adverbialiter vel ut nomen: nec etiam pronunciamentum; toto celo Latino ablegandi et fugandi sunt. Virgulus (,,) et colla (; ;) nostra etiam tempestate inventa à Marutio, cum antiquis prorsus incognita fuerint. Multi dicant, ad quid iste Latinitatis minutiss exquirantur? Dicam, ad quid Latinè loqui affectus?*” (*Scaligerana, p. 4.*) When small letters superseded the use of capitals in latin MSS., the latter were retained as dates, till arabic numerals were adopted. (*Dicit Cange, v. Numerica nota.*) When this occurred, it is to be regretted that dates were not written at full length, instead of abbreviations in Roman capitals; since the omission, addition, or curvature of a single stroke, may present a period, wide of the original, to the perplexity of the chronologist, and the perversion of historical facts. The “*Historia Britonum*” is, from this circumstance, so abundant in these inaccuracies, that I hesitate to admit as authentic, any of the assigned years, which cannot be otherwise verified; and as they rarely conduce to illustration, *I have in the translation commonly left them unaltered.*

³ She, on Christmas day, 1654, in the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, abjured Lutheranism, and was solemnly received

she visited, after she had abdicated the throne of Sweden, suffered no literary curiosity to pass unappropriated; which she could obtain, either by recompense or favour. When in France she purchased the Petavian library; and from a note on one of the leaves of the manuscript, it is said to have been procured by *Alexander Petavius*, from the monastery of St. Germain. Together with the spoils of the libraries of Prague and Dresden (the gift of her father *Gustavus Adolphus*,) she bequeathed her collection to Pope Alexander the Eighth, who, with the addition of his private library, deposited the whole in the Vatican.⁴

into the bosom of the church of Rome, by Alexander the Seventh, who, on this occasion, superadded to her former name, that of *Alexandra*—“aggiunse al nome di *Christiana* (*Christina*) quello d’*Alessandria*.”—(*Platina Vit. Alessand.* 7.)

⁴ An attempt to trace the rise and history of this wonderful collection, may not be unacceptable to the reader. There are reasons for believing, that the Palatine, the Ulpian, and other celebrated libraries in ancient Rome, did not survive the disasters which befel that city, after the decease of *Theodosius*. (*Tiraboschi*, tom. iv. p. 318.) In the fourth century, collections of books were frequent, not only in Italy, but throughout the limits of the latin churches. St. Augustine on his death-bed, with anxious care, consigned his own library to his successor, and all the books of his church of Hippo; a solicitude then prevalent among other bishops. (*Ibid.* 319.) In that period, private collections were formed in the houses of the Roman citizens;

Of the real author, or rather compiler of this

as appears from the epistles of Symmachus, (l. 8. ep. 22.) who was himself provided with one. These accumulations were often made, both from motives of vanity, and the expectation that, like the supposed property of the lamp of Epictetus, they might confer wit and learning on the possessor. Ausonius thus satirizes a collector of this description :

“ Emptis quod libris tibi bibliotheca referta est
Doctum et Grammaticum te Philomuse putas?
Hoc genere et chordas, et plectra et barbita conde;
Omnia mercatus, cras citharaedus eris.”—*Epist. 44.*

Though it is probable that a papal library was early formed at Rome, and it is not likely that such men as St. Damasus (A. 384), and St. Leon (A. 461), one celebrated for learning, the other for piety, should have been unprovided, we yet find no record of any before the time of Hilary (A. 467), who established two, in the Basilica of the Lateran Palace. (*Anastas. v. Pontif. tom. i. p. 78.*)

In the sixth century, we first hear of Bibliothecarius of the apostolical library, an office which through successive ages to the present time, has been honourably and respectably filled.

For several centuries that followed, we meet with no other than casual allusions to the papal library; but these are sufficient to assure us it was always preserved. Others from this silence, have supposed it to be in a very neglected condition: the conjecture is not well founded; for the centre of the western churches must have been always provided with the means of gratifying the various and incessant applications made to it, from every quarter where their influence extended; and we know, that throughout every age, many were the pontiffs who were interested in the promotion, not only of sacred, but of profane learning. The calumny of John of Salisbury (*Policraticon*, l. 1, c. 9.), which has been amplified by Brucker, (*Hist. Crit. Philos.* l. 7. c. 2.) that Gregory I. (A. 594-604) burned the works of classical authors, has been candidly examined and ably refuted by Tiraboschi, *tome. vi.*

work, nothing is satisfactorily known; manu-

p. 173); nor do we need further proof of the miscellaneousness of the papal collections, when we recollect, that though thinly scattered indeed over the dark ages, we yet find Roman writers whose talents would have embellished any age or country, but whose works could not have been composed without the help of many books, and those of ancient authors in particular.

A digression to the state of literature in our own country, during the seventh and eighth centuries, may be pardoned, and the view is gratifying.

In the sixth age began the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, by papal missionaries; and, after long and pertinacious resistance, the integrity of the long and regularly established British church was destroyed, and became subject to that of Rome. But, if lost independence was lamented, it must be conceded, that civilization and learning, far exceeding the regular growth of human proficiency in a similar period, and during a rude age in particular, was conferred on the island in exchange. From the commencement of this great ecclesiastical event, intercourse with Rome was incessant; persons of every rank, both clergy and laity, resorted thither, (*Beda Hist.* l. 5, c. 7.) and a school was there established for the youth of Britain. Detailed particulars are scarcely to be expected. Among innumerable instances, doubtless, we know that the saxon monk, Biscop, (A. 669), who was greatly favoured by contemporary popes, and especially by Agatho, made repeated visits to Rome, expressly for the promotion of religion and the decoration of churches. In one of his returns, he was accompanied by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and brought with him several ingenious artists, as glaziers and painters, together with books, relicts, robes, and pictures. (*Ibid.* l. 4; c. 18. and *Vit. Sanct.* p. 293.) This eminent prelate was a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and after his arrival visited great part of the island. He established a seminary at, or near Oxford; and being skilful both in human and divine learning, his audience was numerous; “diteris sacris aitut et secularibus abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulae-

scripts of it are numerous ; and of those which the

quoniam cetera." The sciences of arithmetic, astronomy, and music, were also cultivated. Some of his pupils were alive in the time of Beda, who could deliver themselves in Greek and Latin with equal ease and perspicuity. (*Ibid.* l. 4. c. 2.) Egbert, archbishop of York, (A.781,) and brother of Eadbert, king of Northumberland, founded a noble library in his metropolitan city, which could only have been furnished from Rome. (*Malm. de Gestis Regum Anglor.* l. 1. c. 3.) We are not left to conjecture, as to the importance of its contents ; for our countryman Alcuinus, who was a pupil of that prelate, and the keeper of it, left a catalogue, which still exists. (*Gale, Scrip.* xv. p. 730. *De Pontificibus Sanct. Eccles. Ebor.* l. 1536.) The state of learning in Britain was, at this period, superior to that of Gaul ; a fact, proved by the following circumstance : Alcuinus, who was the preceptor, and the valued friend of Charlemagne, received from him the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours, to which late in life he retired. In this privacy, he addressed a letter to his royal patron, whence the following extracts are taken : " The employments of your Alcuinus in his retreat, are suited to his humble sphere ; but they are neither inglorious nor unprofitable. I spend my time in the halls of St. Martin, in teaching some of the noble youths under my care, the intricacies of grammar, and inspiring them with a taste for the learning of the ancients ; in describing to others, the order and revolutions of those shining orbs which adorn the azure vault of heaven ; and in explaining to others the mysteries of divine wisdom, which are contained in the holy scriptures ; suiting my instructions to the views and capacities of my scholars, that I may train up many to be ornaments to the church of God, and the court of your imperial majesty. In doing this, I find a great want of several things, particularly of those excellent books in all arts and sciences which I enjoyed in my native country, through the expense and care of my great master Egbert. May it, therefore, please your majesty, animated with the most ardent love of learning, to permit me to send some of our young gentlemen into

editor has examined, the following have proved

England, to procure for us those books which we want, and transplant the flowers of Britain into France, that their fragrance may no longer be confined to York, but may perfume the palaces of Tours.—I need not put your majesty in mind, how earnestly we are exhorted in the holy scriptures to the pursuit of wisdom; than which nothing is more conducive to a pleasant, happy, and honourable life; nothing a greater preservative from vice; nothing more becoming or more necessary to those especially, who have the administration of publick affairs, and the government of empires. Learning and wisdom exalt the low, and give additional lustre to the honours of the great. By wisdom, kings reign, and princes decree justice. Cease not, then, O gracious king! to press the young nobility of your court, to the eager pursuit of wisdom and learning in their youth, that they may attain to an honourable old age and a blessed immortality.” (*Henry’s Hist. Eng.* 8vo. vol. iv. p. 37.) No stronger perception of the importance of letters can be conceived, than is expressed in this admirable letter. It teaches us that in this age implements of erudition were at hand, and required but a Charlemagne to patronise, and an Alcuinus to execute.

During the series of vicissitudes and disasters which for ages afflicted the Queen of Cities, her library was preserved. On the removal of the seat of government to Avignon, by Clement v. the literary treasures of the see accompanied the Pontiff. (*Tirab.* tom. xi. p. 38.) This secession ended with Martin v. (A. 1417) who fixed himself at Rome, and brought part of them with him; and, making allowance for loss and spoliation, the remainder was afterwards restored to their *original* situation by Pius v. (*Ibid.* tom. viii. l. 7.—tom. xiv. p. 213.) These being deposited in the Vatican, are generally said to have been the foundation of that collection. I however find, that so long previous as the commencement of the eighth century, the library of the Lateran, formed by Hilary, was transferred to the Basilica of St. Peter, (a situation which answers to the present,) and from time to time received augmentations. (*Tirab.* tom. v. 159. *Muratori. Script.*

most useful in the illustrations he has attempted.

Rer. Ital. tom. iii. part 1. p. 154-163.) Nicholas v. (A. 1447-1455,) Callistus III. Sixtus IV. and V. are justly deemed the parents of the library, and the enlargers of the structure in which it is contained. After many unsuccessful attempts, in the reign of the pope last mentioned, it became open to the public. (*Tirab.* vol. xiv. p. 214.)

This stupendous library, consisting chiefly of manuscripts, admits of six great divisions; viz.

1. Vaticana, consisting of those MSS. which existed from the earliest times, together with the accessions of subsequent Popes.
2. Palatina, or that which was brought from Heidelberg, and given to Gregory XV. by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, after the capture of that city.
3. Alexandriana, or that which was bequeathed to Alexander VIII. by Christina, queen of Sweden.
4. Urbinata, transferred to Rome from Urbino, when that Duchy devolved to the church, during the reign of Urban VIII.
5. Capponiana, given to Benedict XIV. by the Marquis Alessandro Capponi.
6. Ottoboniana, purchased of the house of Ottoboni, by the Pontiff last mentioned.

The history of the acquirement and removal of such parts of the Palatine collection to Rome as had *not been previously dispersed*, is curious: “ Avea il Duca di Baviera Massimiliano nella guerra mossa contro di Federigo Elettore Palatino, siccome dicemmo, fatto l’acquisto d’ Eidelberga, e di tutto il Palatinato inferiore (A. 1622). In essa Città si trovava un insigne Biblioteca di Antichi Codici scritti a mano, Ebraici, Greci, Latini, e d’altri Lingue, raccolti per quanto fu divulgato, da tutti i Monasteri di quella Provincia, introdotta che vi fù l’Eresia. Attento il Pontefice Gregorio (XV.) a profitar anch’ egli dell’altrui naufragio, si per qualche ricompensa de sussidj prestati al Duca in quell’impresa, come ancora per la pretensione, che appartenesse alla Santa Sede quel tesoro di manoscritti, come spoglio di Luoghi sacri fece gagliarde istanze di ottenerli, e il Duca vi condiscese’ Scritt.

These are,⁵ three in the British Museum, one in the Bodleian, another in the Library of Ben'et College, Cambridge, and one lent him by OWEN PUGHE, Esq. formerly the property of Selden.

vono alcuni che la persona inviata dal Papa Urbano VIII. ad Eidelberga per trasportar que' Codici a Roma, a cagion della poca sua accortezza lasciò sfiorar quella si riguardevole Libreria, essendone stati asportati i Codici migliori. Non pochi certamente se ne trovano nella Real Biblioteca di Vienna. Di poca attenzione per questo fu accusato Leone Alacci uomo di gran creditò per la sua erudizione, e per tantū libri dati alla lute, giacchè a lui fu appoggiata l'incombenza suddetta." (*Muratori*, A. 1623. *Tirabos.* tom. viii. part 1. p. 65. edit. 1812.)

The Alexandrian collection has also been supposed to have suffered spoliation before it reached its present destination; "passò," is the expression of Muratori, (A. 1689) "per la maggior parte, nella Vaticana." The number of manuscripts it comprises, is estimated at between 1900 and 2000.

1. Vitell. A. xiii. P. Plut; ix. A. intitled, "Nennii antiquum exemplar."

2. Vespas. D.xx1. p. 115. Plut. vi. A. intitled "Antiquissimum exemplar Nennii in quo," plura continentur quam in aliis.

3. Plut. 624. V. 28. T. This copy was once in the possession of Sir Simon D'Ewes, who professes to have compared it with many others. He styles it, "Anglo-Saxonici anonymi chronica."

The Bodleian, is No. 2016 of the Catalogues of MSS. published 1697. Fol. now Bodl. No. 163. This was once in the collection of Archbishop Usher, who enriched it with notes and collations. The title runs, "Incipiunt gesta Britonum a Gilda (Gilda Minoris) sapiente composita." To the attention of the late Rev. Mr. Price, librarian, the editor owes extracts so copious as nearly to amount to a complete transcript.

The “*Historia Brittonum*,” is by turns assigned to *Nennius*, to an *anonymous Anglo-Saxon*, to the *two Gildas’s (Minor and Sapiens)*, and to *Mark the Anchorite*. On close examination, however, I do not find sufficient reason for yielding the claim to any one of these in preference to another. To account for the singularity of assigning to various authors the same performance, I learn from the Gentleman last mentioned, that nothing was more common than for the transcribers of the ancient British manuscripts to affix their own names to the same work, with such additions or retrenchments as they thought proper, so as to make it pass for their own composition. The hope expressed in the first page of the Preface, that a copy nearer the time to which the subject relates, than any other which has descended to us, might be free from the errors, interpolations, and substitutions, which disfigure those of later date, has been in a great measure defeated. For so many of these have, by repeated transcripts made between the period of compilation and the tenth century, insinuated themselves into the text, as materially to vitiate the original; that the censure of St. Jerome on the insufficient

scribes in his day, is applicable to the case before us; “ Imperitiam notariorum librariumque⁶ incuriam, qui scribunt quod non

“ Notarius and Librarius (to which may be added Antiquarius) are terms which, before the invention of printing, frequently denoted the profession of a copier.—The third of these, was properly the transcriber of such MSS. as were ancient. (*Isidor. L. 6, c. 14. Macri Hierolexicon. Du. Cange v. Antiquarii.*) The eminent and excellent Cassiodorus (480-575,) at the age of seventy retired from public life, to a monastery he founded near his native Squillace, and to which he prescribed the rules of St. Benedict. He enriched it with a valuable library, from which the works of profane authors were not excluded. Among all his statements, he declares, that the copying MSS. gave him the most pleasure; artists were engaged to adorn them with figures, and to bind them elegantly. When he had attained his ninety-third year, he composed a treatise on orthography, for the use of his monks, that they might hence learn to transcribe correctly. In times less remote, as the demands for books increased, and as public schools and universities were formed, besides such as were claustral, secular scribes were established universally and became a numerous body. Not only men, but women were thus occupied, to whose insufficiency the defects of many MSS. are assignable. (*P. Sarti de Profess. Bonon. tom. i. part 1. p. 186.*) This authority refers to the female scribes of Bologna. We may, however, believe the practice to have been general; for Engelhardus, (*Abbas. A. 1200, Vita Sta. Michildis Virgin. tom. v. c. 23. Canissii,*) reports an accident which happened to a nun in the exercise of this employment: “ Cum soror una cui usus erat scribendi membranam, dum ad lineas punctaret subulam incautè trahens, oculum transfigit.” Defective transcript is, however, not solely to be attributed to females; for the accurate and elegant Petrarch indignantly exclaims, “ Who shall prescribe an effectual remedy for the ignorance and worthlessness, of copiers, who spoil and confuse the performances they undertake?—At this time, every one who

inveniunt, sed quod intelligunt : et dum alie-

*can reddent letteris** or guide a pen, though void of learning, skill, or ability, assumes the character of a scribe. I should not censure their *defects in orthography* (*for that is a long forgotten art,*) if they would faithfully transcribe what is before them. They might betray their insufficiency, but we should have in the copy the substance of the original. They now confound both together; and, by substituting one thing for another, we can scarce identify the author from which they transcribed. If Cicero, Livy, and many other illustrious writers, could return to life, and re-peruse their own compositions, would they understand them, and doubting the whole, *would they believe them to be their own, or rather, those of some barbarous people?*" (*De Rem. Utriusque Fortuna;* l. 1, dial. 43.)

It was once the custom publicly to expose lists of MSS. as a modern bookseller does his printed catalogue. These expressed the number of pages each contained, the terms on which they might be *bought, consulted, perused, or copied.* To purchase, was not within the ability of every one. At Bologna, highly celebrated for beauty and fidelity of execution, the price of a Bible, in the thirteenth century, was eighty bolognese livres; three of which equalled two fiorini d'oro.—This coin is no longer current. "The florins of Florence weigh a drachm, and are no less than twenty-four carats fine, according to Italian writers; being intrinsically worth about twelve shillings." (*Pinkerton on Medals*, vol. ii. p. 19.)

At

* The terms *miniator* and *illuminator*, are not unfrequently used in common. The first is, however, derived from the colouring substance used; it has not properly any reference to the diminutive size of the picture represented, nor is it exclusively so considered by the modern *Italians*. " *Miniare, quasi minio describere. Roler ex vermilion. Joann. de Janua. Miniare. minio preparare vel scribere minio. Miniator, qui minio scribit, vel preparat minium. Miniographus qui minio scribit. Miniographia, scriptura cum minio facts.* (*Du Cange.*) *Illuminator, Aurarius pictor, qui libros variis figuris, lineis stereis expletos. Illuminare, pingere coloribus, aquaiente, and the word was employed so early as the 8th century, in a less contracted manner; and the following passage from the Epistles of Alcuinus, (No. 1.) may perhaps explain the origin of that branch of the art.—" *Quodam stellarum ordine, seu picto cuiuslibet magna domus culmine illuminari geste.*" (*Du Cange.*)*

b

nos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos."
(*Epist. ad Lucinum*, No. 27.)

At the same period and place, 200 florins were given for a splendid missal, ornamented with gold letters and painted designs. The word, *Bibliotheca* was equivocal, and frequently meant the books of the Old and New Testament only. (*Macri Hierolexicon*.) The following extract from a catalogue of the books of Cardinal Guala, A. 1227, bequeathed by him to the monastery of St. Andrea, in Vercelli, of which he was the founder, is curious, both as examples of splendid decoration, and for the enumeration of letters in which they were written; " *Bibliotheca magna de littera Parisiensi*, cooperta purpurā, et ornata floribus aureis et literis capitales aureas—item *alia bibliotheca de littera Boloniensi* cooperta corie glauco—item *alia bibliotheca de littera Boloniensi* cum corio rubro: item *bibliotheca de littera Anglicana*—item *bibliotheca parva* pretiosissima de littera Parisiensi cum litteris aureis et ornamento purpureo—item Exodus, Leviticus, de littera antiqua—item xii Phropheete in uno volumine de littera Lombarda—item moralia B. Gregorii super Job, de bona littera antiqua retina." (*Tiraboschi*, tom. iv. l. 1. p. 83.) Hitherto, except for very distinguished purposes, MSS. had been copied with but little attention to elegance; they now became objects of splendid luxury. The aid of painters was sought for, (" *hodie scriptores non sunt scriptores sed pictores*,") who displayed their talents in gilding initials and ornamenting the margins, in which were whimsical figures grinning like baboons;—for such was the conceit of the facetious Odofredus Beneventanus (preceptor to the celebrated Jacobus Baldwinus, A. 1230, (*Trithem. apud. Fabric. Bib. Eccles.* p. 108) who thus exposes the misapplication of the stipend granted to a young student by his father—" *Dixit Pater filio—vade Parisius vel Bononiam, et mittam tibi annuatim centum libras. Iste, quid fecit? Ivit Parisius, et fecit libros suos babuinare de literis aureis—ibat ad cerdonem et faciebat se calceari omni die Sabbati.*" *Babuinare* may not exclusively apply to the quadruped, but may indicate those capricious animal-forms dis-

As Nennius has commonly been considered the author of this chronicle, it may be expected that I should produce such traditions respecting him as are now remaining. Nennius and Gildas are described by Jeffrey (l. 1, c. 17. l. 4, c. 3 and 4) and Tysilio (*Coll. Camb.* p. 30 and 75) as British

played in the margins of illuminated MSS. “*Babewynus Similis species. Ital. Babbuino—Visitatio Thesaurariæ S. Pauli Londoniensis ann. 1295. Imago quædam pulchra Beatæ Virginis cum pede quadrato stante super quatuor Babewynos.—Hioc stulti infantes Babewini dicuntur. (Mucri Hierolexicon, v. Babewynus.)*

These designs are not meant for the animals to which they bear some resemblance, nor are they the result of arbitrary fancy merely, but symbolical modifications of infernal spirits trodden under foot by the blessed Virgin, as frequently represented in carvings and illuminated missals, under those of divine persons. (“The dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.” *Psalm, 91, 13—Gori. diptych. passim.*) Perhaps from an idea of degradation; they are frequently seen on the under side of the folding seats in cathedral stalls, called “*Misericordiæ*,” at times, of such a description, as to betray the low ebb of the popular feeling of decorum, which even a sacred edifice could not chasten.

In the dark ages, every man was his own manufacturer. I meet with the appointment in monasteries of “*Pergamenarius—officium in monasteriis,—apud Adalardum in Statut. Corbinensis, l. 1, c. 1. Qui Pergamena parabat, et est in vita B. Mariani Abbat. Ratispon. n. 9. (Du Cange)* Adelardus (A. 759-826) was of the blood royal in France, and founded the monastery of Corbie in Saxony. I quote from memory, but if I mistake not, by the capitulary of Charlemagne, monks were entitled to the skins of animals taken in hunting, to make covers for their books.

historians. “ Nennius (Nyriaw) who was the brother both of Caswallon (Cassibelanus) and Ludd, quarrelled with the latter; and of this dissension, Gildas the historian has given a large account; for which reason I chuse to pass it over for fear of debasing by my accounts what so great a writer has so eloquently related.” It is further asserted; that Nennius encountered Julius Cæsar, and fell by his hand. Balæus.

* This biographer thus describes Nennius and his reputed associates: “ Nennius Bannochorensis collegii Pontifex (ut illum Capgrave appellat) et egregius brytanorum doctor olim fuit Elvodugi probi, atque Beulanus presbyteri non infimus”—that he was a monk of Bangor iscoed, and one of the fifty who escaped from the massacre of that community under Ædelfrid, A. 618; that he composed his history from the annals of the Romans, the Scots, and Saxons; from the chronicles of Jerome, Eusebius, Prosper, Isidore, and St. Patrick; from the British Tâlennin, Melkin, Gildas, Elvedagus, and others; that he flourished in the reign of Cadwan, A. 620; that Elvodus Probus was his preceptor, A. 590, and who was succeeded in the same capacity by Beulanus presbyter, A. 610; and that Samuel Beulanus, a Briton, and son of the last mentioned, was the annotator of his history. The legends speak of a St. Nennius, who, in the sixth century, presided in the “ Magnum Monasterium.” (*Britannia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 50—125. *User. Antiq.* p. 494.) Capgrave (from whom Bale professes to have made this compilation) was provincial of the Augustine friars, and confessor to the famous Duke of Gloucester, epitomised the *Sanctilogium Britanniae*; adding here and there many fancies and interpolations of his own. (Nicholson, pt. ii. c. 1, p. 98.) The epitome itself is extracted from the “ *Historia sacra* ” of John of Tynmouth,

(Cent. I; c. 55 and 59) affirms "that this was the same Nennius who wrote a book of the British history, which was afterwards translated into latin by his namesake the Abbot of Bangor."

* If any truth be involved in this extravagance, we may infer, that there was once a

(M.S.) The only Elvodugus (Elbodus or Elbodius) visible in the history and antiquities of Wales, lived in the eighth, and in the beginning of the ninth century. Dates do not indeed accord, but incidental facts make it probable, that it is the same which is alluded to by Capgrave. "Elvod, a saint descended from Cew, a Bishop at Caer Gybi, in Moma, and afterwards at Bangor Deiniol (Dermarthshire) whom Caradog styles primate of Gwynedd (North Wales)." He died in the year 809. (*Camb. Biog. Elvod. Deinol.*) "The clergy of Wales had hitherto preserved with great firmness, an independence of the Romish church. About this period (A. 762), however, they suffered Elbodus to be appointed by the Pope, Archbishop of Wales, who soon brought them to sit in conformity to the Romish observance of Easter." (*Warrington's Wales*, vol. ii., p. 404.—*H. Llwyd. Frag. fol. 55.*)

* I have, on the term Bangor, received from Mr. Owen Pughe the following valuable remarks: "The word Bangor, in Welsh, is simply an appellation for any college; and all the Christian societies among the Britons, began to assume that epithet towards the close of the fifth century; that is, when they began to have regular jurisdictions over districts, and to have Gwyndai, or white-houses, which was a term for chapter houses: an institution introduced by Germanus and his followers. Before that period, the British Christians called their societies by the simple name of Cör; a circle, or congregation. But at the time above stated, they dignified the name by the additional epithet of Ban, high, superior or supreme, that is to say Bangor, (variously written

british history which may have furnished these excerpta, or such of them as have reference to a remote period, and that it was originally written in the vernacular tongue.

in MSS. Ban Cor, Banchor, and Bangor.) This makes the expression “*Magnum monasterium*,” (generally with respect to Nennius applied to the celebrated monastery of Bangor iscoed, in Flintshire) equivocal; because “great monastery,” is nothing but a translation of the appellative Bangor, unless an additional name had been given with it to fix its locality. I will here subjoin a list of the Bangors, or colleges of Wales, from a curious MS. enumerating the principal fathers of the british church. *Côr Dyorig*, or congregation of Dubricius, at Caer Llion upon Wysc. Dewi, or St. Davids, removed this to Mynyw, or Mehevia, where Gynyr of Caer Gawg, his grandfather on his mother’s side, had left all his lands for the support of the church. *Côr Tathan*, or *Bangor Tathan*, in Caer Went, or Venta Silurum, founded by Tathan, son of Amwn Zu, under the patronage of Esner Gwent, in the beginning of the sixth century. *Bangor Garmon*, or the college of Germanus, at Llanveithin in Glamorgan. This was founded by St. German, about A.D. 460. *Côr Tewdws* in Caer Worgorn, or the congregation founded by the Emperor Theodosius in Caer Worgorn. This was destroyed by the Irish in the middle of the fifth century. It was restored by Germanus, over which he placed Illtyd or Ilitus, whence it was called Bangor Illtyd, or College of St. Ilitus, in Glamorgan, now called by the English Lantwit Major, and by the Welsh Llan Illtyd Vawr.

Bangor Catog, or College of Catog, founded by him under the direction of St. Germanus, at the present Llancarvan in Glamorgan. *Bangor y Ty Gwyn ar Dâv*, the college of the White House on Tav, or the present Whitland Abbey in Caermarthenshire, was founded by Pawl Hên, or Paulinus, over which he placed the brothers Flewyn and Gredivel, about A.D. 480.

The present manuscript varies not, as to general import, from the copies of the "Historia Brittonum" already known. It differs from those edited by Gale (*Scrip. xv.*) and Bertram

Flewyn and Gredivel were the sons of Ithel Hael of Armorica. (*Cambrian Biography*, p. 123, 124, 280.) *Bangor Padarn*, or College of Padarn. This society, consisting of one hundred and twenty members, was established by Padarn the son of Pedredin ab Emry Llydaw, in the close of the fifth century. He came from Armorica with his cousin Cadvan; and was first at Bangor Illtyd. Bangor Padarn, was at the present Llanbadarn Vawr, in Cardiganshire. (*Camb. B.* p. 217.) *Côr Beuno*, or the congregation of Beuno, which he established about the close of the sixth century. It came afterwards to be called Bangor Clynog, or College of Clynog; and now Clynog Vawr in Arvon (Caernarvonshire). *Bangor Cadvan*, or College of Cadvan, also called Bangor Enlli, or College of Bardsey; founded by Cadvan, in the close of the fifth century, under the direction of Emry Llydaw, and patronage of Einiou, son of Owain Danwyn, as sovereign of the country. This was one of the most celebrated of the Welsh seminaries. *Bangor Deiniol*, or the college of Deiniol, the son of Dunod ab Pabo, who founded it, A.D. 525. This is also called Bangor Yawr uç Conwy, the great college over Conwy, and Bangor Vawr yn Arllechwedd, or the great college in Arllechwedd; being the present Bangor in Caernarvonshire. It was raised to the dignity of a bishopric in the time of Deiniol, who died in 554. In the time of Ellood, this see became the metropolitan of North Wales. Ellood died in A. 809. *Côr Cybi*, or congregation of Cybi, at the present Caer Gybi, or Holyhead, in Anglesey. *Côr Penmor*, founded by Einion, in the beginning of the sixth century, over which he placed Seiriol, and thence also called *Côr Seiriol*, or congregation of Seiriol. This was in Prietholme island, near Beaumaris. *Bangor Asav*, or College of Asav, afterwards called Llan Elvy by the Welsh,

(Scrip. III.). in certain transpositions of the subject—in the omission of two introductory prefaces—in not acknowledging the assistance of Samuel Bewly, (the reputed master of Nennius)—in detaching the life of St. Patrick from the body of the work, and placing it at the end.

In the brief parallel now to be offered, I confine myself to the copy edited by Bertram, not only as the latest, but because it exhibits marks of care and diligence superior to all others.

and St. Asaph by the English. This was founded by Asav, under the direction of Cyndeyrn (Kentigern) in the former part of the sixth century. *Bangor Dunod*, or College of Dunod, son of Pabo. It was founded by Dunod and his sons Deiniol Cynwyl and Gwarthan, in the beginning of the sixth century, upon lands granted by Cyngen, king of a part of Powys, and the Vale Royal. This place was also called *Bangor Maeior*, the College of Maeior; *Bangor Vaws yn Maeior*, the great College in Maeior; and *Bangor Iscoed*, or College of Underwood. This seminary never flourished after the massacre of its members; after the bloody battle there in A. 638, when the Britons were defeated there under Brogwell. (*Camb. Biog.* p. 91.)

The term was not restricted to our island. There was a *Bangor* in Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany. (*Welsh Dict.* v. *Bangor*.) St. Patrick founded the monastery of *Beannchor* in Ulster, of which Combgallus was the first abbot. (*Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick*, c. 98.) In Scotland there are two parishes called *Banchory*; one in Aberdeen, the other in Kincardineshire."

In *Bertram*. (c. 1) the date of the transcript is brought down to the thirtieth year of Ene-muth (Anarawed) king of Monia (Anglesey) “qui regit modo regnum Wenedocie regionis.” This son of Roderic the great, was the sovereign of North Wales, who fixed his royal seat at Aberfraw, in Anglesey: he began his reign, A. 877. (*Warrington's Wales*, vol. i. p. 223.) In *Mark*, instead of this date, both in the commencement, (p. 1), and in the course of the narrative repeatedly; that of the fifth of Edmund is substituted. From page 2 to page 9 (*Bertram*, c. 2 to the end of c. 11) is briefly discussed the subject of the first peopling of Britain, and the adjacent isles; the arrival and settling of the Picts and Scots professedly extracted from the Roman annals, from ancient books, and from tradition. The facts are abruptly given, and scarcely connected; the last historical event records the victories of the Cunedda family in the fourth century. The narrative is here interrupted, and the copier makes a computation to the year of transcript, or the fourth of Mervinus. Here is terminated what may be called the first division of the work; the materials of it were probably brought together soon after the period

of the successes last mentioned, which form a decided epocha in the Cambrian history.

In page 10, (*Bertram*, c. 12 and 13,) another relation is adduced ; taken “*ex veteribus libris veterum nostrorum.*” The line of Brutus is here made to coalesce with the patriarchal genealogies of tribes and families spread over the face of the ancient world. From page 11 to page 17, (*Bertram*, c. 14 to c. 28,) is narrated the invasion, prevalence, and departure of the Romans. In page 18, (*Bertram*, c. 28 and 29,) the Saxons are introduced ; Vortigern receives them in Thanet. We here find, *but in Mark alone*, a repetition of the computation *to the fifth year of Edmund*—“*in quo scribimus.*” From page 19, (*Bertram*, c. 29 to 35,) the civil detail is again interrupted, by an account of the mission and miracles of St. Germanus. In page 29 to page 33, (*Bertram*, c. 35 to 53,) details of our national history are resumed. These comprise the treachery and successes of the Saxons, the battles of Vortimer, the pretended second mission of St. Germanus, and the fall of Vortigern. From the fifty-third chapter of *Bertram*, though the facts differ not materially from those in *Mark*, the arrangement is not the same. In

page 34 of Mark, is recited, the influx of the Saxons into Britain, the death of Hengist, the battles of Arthur, and the unremitting augmentation of that people to the time of Ida, A. 547. Omitting all intermediate events, the final computation to the year 945, ("ad hunc quem nos scribimus") answering to the fifth of Edmund, is again repeated, and the termination of the work is announced by the following solemn appeal:—"Et quicumque hoc legerit in melius augeatur! Prestante domino nostro IHU Crso qui cum coaeterno patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per infinita secula seculorum amen."

The life of St. Patrick, (apparently no part of the performance originally) follows in a detached form. In other copies, this legend is incorporated in the work, of which it makes a part from the *fifty-second to the sixty-first chapter.*

Independently of the historical notices dispersed throughout this chronicle, there are others referable to a subject at all times interesting, but which has of late years risen in importance from the researches of men of taste and learning: I mean the origin of romantic

fiction in Britain. Opinions as to the people with whom this species of composition first arose, are various; and the imputed honour has, among others, been conceded to the Celts, Scandinavians, Armoricans, and Arabians. Ideas so unsettled argue no agreement in those points, which essentially affect the question; and where there is no common ground to stand upon, conviction is little to be expected. The plans proposed, are in general too exclusive, for when a system is universal, and acts with the force and certainty of an instinct, it is not assignable to accidents, but to a settled principle in the human constitution. Leaving it then to others to filiate the aberrations of excursive fancy,—If asked, when did romantic fiction commence? I should reply,—from the time man began to hope and to fear—for even in the best constructed mind, so powerfully do these motives irritate his restless temper, alternately urging him to seek pleasure or alleviation, in variety, and, whether disappointed or successful, still to continue exploring distant and illusive sources of gratification. Thus considered, the *anticipations* of *to-morrow*, are little more than *romances of the mind*, which, in a

greater or less degree, subject the understanding to the imagination. The *Garb* is *universal*, for all nations have their fabulous age ;—the *fashion and colour*, as settled by custom or modified by novelty, are *local* ; from the more elegant mythology of ancient Greece, to our domestic system of romance, in which Robin Goodfellow and his fairy train, once charmed and awed the rustic mind.

Among the authors above alluded to, the opinions of Mr. Ritson have had their share in swaying those of the public. He declares that the Welsh “have no tales or chronicles, the produce of the elder Welsh bards, nor by any other writer, more early at least than Geoffrey of Monmouth ; “if the Welsh have such stories, they are doubtless from the French or English, and by way of farther proof of their recency, are all in prose.” (*Diss. on Romantic Fiction*, p. 36.)

Consistently with the theory advanced, I contend, that writers, like painters, are not the inventors of the mythological or legendary subjects they undertake to delineate ; but seek honour and emolument only, by making those the object of their respective arts, to which opinion has given popularity. That several of

the tales and traditions recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth were in existence before his day, is proved by the date of the transcript before us.

Whether the germ of the druidical associations was first unfolded in this island, is a question not easily determined; they were certainly matured, and for ages naturalized, within its limits. In the course of time they yielded to the change assigned to human institutions, yet after the period of virtual abolition, and long subsequent to the regular establishment of Christianity,⁹ the spirit of Bardism hovered over the unsubdued retreats of its beloved Cambria, and so powerfully did the effects of habit, and the principles it inculcated, pervade the minds and imaginations of the provincials, as to impart a corresponding character to their productions. The following instances prove both the truth of this observation, and the fallaciousness of Mr. Ritson's assertion.

* On the gradual abolition of the druidical order, and coalescence with Christianity, much valuable information is to be derived from Pelloutier, (*Hist. des Celts*, tom. vii. c. 4) and the researches of the learned Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur. (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. i. p. 289. tom. ii. p. 13.)

The tower or ship of glass (p. 7,) filled with men, and seen off the coast of Ireland, is part of an ancient bardic legend. "Merddin, the bard of Ambrosius, is said to have constructed a house of glass,¹⁰ in which he went to sea, accompanied by nine Cylveirrd Bards, of whom nothing was heard afterwards." (*Camb. Biog.* v. *Merddin.*) A farther development of this singular detail is to be found in "The Cambrian

¹⁰ Three centuries after the time of Mark, "in the Spanish Romance of Alexander, written by Joan Lorenzo Segura de Astorga, about the middle of the thirteenth century, is a long description of Alexander's descent into the sea, in a house of glass; which I have elsewhere had occasion to quote, and therefore will not repeat here. Where the Spaniard found the story I cannot say; if he is to be understood literally, it was not a written legend, but one which he received from tradition.—In the German legend of St. Anna, written at the close of the year 1100, Mr. Coleridge has shewn me the same story of Alexander thus related, with circumstances of greater sublimity than elsewhere—"He let himself down to the bottom of the sea in a glass," &c. &c. &c. (*Southey's Specimens of the later English Poets*, Preface, p. 9.) Farther details of this singular fiction are to be found in Dunlop's History of Fiction (vol. ii. p. 127, second edition). In the continuation of the *Orlando Furioso*, where the spirits are summoned to attend Demagorgon in council, some of them, impelled by the bellows of demons, sail through the air in ships of glass:

" Portate alcune in gran navi di vetro,
Da i fier Demonii, cento volte e cento
Con mantici soffiar lor facean dietro,
Che mai non fu per l'aria il maggior vento."

Canto 1. Stan. 8.

Popular Antiquities," (p. 75) published by Mr. Roberts.

"Whether Merlin survived Arthur, or not, has not been recorded in history; but it is most probable that he did, and through some apprehension of the Saxons, endeavoured to escape them by sea. On this occasion, he is said to have sailed in a ship of glass, and to have taken with him the thirteen curiosities of Britain."¹⁴

¹⁴ I omit the detail for the sake of brevity. On this passage, the author remarks that "the magical powers assigned to some of these curiosities, are so similar to what is to be found in the arabian tales, as to point out a common origin." Without researches into more remote antiquity—for arabian tales might be substituted the fictions of the early Greeks, for all the ingredients of magical incantation exist in Homer. Pliny (l. 30, c. 1, "Maxime tamen," &c.) asserts, that no allusions to such practices are to be discovered in the Iliad,* but that in the Odyssey we find magical transformations, charms, and evocation of infernal spirits; and most likely all the vulgar arts of divination particularised by Theocritus, (Id. 2) were used at the same period. That the Druids were in possession of these secrets, was believed by ancient authors. In the mystical poems of their Bards, whether they refer to the rural theology then cultivated, or the awful appeal to supernatural powers, allusions to them continually occur, in the Mabinogion or institutional tales. These compositions, of colour and fashion peculiarly their own, and which except in the abridgment, of that of Culhwch in the Cambrian Biography, that of Pwyll in the Cambrian Register, (vol. i. p. 177) and some

* May we not, however, except Achilles, who bore almost a charmed life; and the impenetrable armour forged for him by Vulcan after the death of Patroclus?

According to the account of this voyage, as

extracts dispersed in Davies's mythology, are unknown to the english reader. Culhwch is told by an oracle he is to have no wife but Olwen. She is a personification of nature, and is only to be won by exploring her mysteries: he sets out in search of her, and encounters a variety of extraordinary adventures. Pwyll is a prince of Dyved, (Demetia) the subject principally turns on the magical transformations of the hero. I was some time since favoured by Mr. Owen Pughe with the perusal of translations of several of these tales, but knowing he intended them for the press, did not ask his permission to make extracts from them. The result of a second application will not be unacceptable to the reader.

"Agreeably to your request, I send some particulars of the Mabinogion.

The first List:

1. Ymerawdwr Lludd a Lleuelys: *The contention of Lludd and Lleuelys.*
2. Bronddwyd Maxen Wledig: *The dream of the Emperor Maximus.*
3. Brân Vendigiti: *Brân the Blessed.*
4. Pwyll Penderyn Dyrddi: *Pwyll the chieftain of Dyved.*
5. Manawydan ab Llyr: *Manawydan the son of Llyr.*
6. Math ab Mathonwy: *Math the son of Mathonwy.*

No. 1. Lludd the son of Bell, was the father of Caswallawn (Cassivellaunus): he and Lleuelys his brother at some game at ball, which, with the events it produced, and their reconciliation, are the subject of the tale.

No. 2. The dream of Maximus is concerning his elevation to power, wherein are narrated the incidents leading to its accomplishment.

No. 3. The events in the tale of Brân arise out of the tale of Pwyll. Madolwg, the stipendiary King of Ireland, roads with a fleet at Harlech, in North Wales, where Brân kept his court, to demand Branwen, the sister of Brân in marriage. His request is granted, and he returns to Ireland. Events then arise, wherein

given by Mr. Lewis Morris, he conveyed them to Bardsey island, and died, and was buried

Bronwen is insulted with a box on the ear, called one of the three fatal insults of Britain. For Brân invades Ireland to avenge his sister. Only seven return from the expedition, after having destroyed nearly all the people of Ireland; and Brân being mortally wounded, he orders his companions who survive, to carry his head to be interred in the White Hill, in London, as a protection against all future invasions, so long as the head remained there. The sequel of the tale recites their progress to London to bury the head. At Harlech, in their way, they are kept seven years listening to the birds of Rhianow, singing in the air; and in Dyved (Dimetia) by attending to the last words of Brân, they stay in a grand hall for eighty years, enjoying every kind of pleasure and amusement, all their misfortunes and object of further progress being kept out of their minds; but by opening a door looking towards Cornwall, their real condition breaks in upon their minds, which compels them to pursue their journey. Brân was the father of Cerdawg (Caractacus); and according to the Triads, he with all his family were carried to Rome, and remained there seven years as hostages for the son. Brân there meets with some Christians, and being converted, he prevails on two Christians to accompany him to Britain, by which means the faith is introduced; which is the cause of the epithet of Blessed being given him.

No. 4. Part of the tale of Pwyll has been given in the second volume of the Cambrian Register, and is continued in vol. 3, new printing.

No. 5. Manawydan is the brother of Brân, and is one of the seven that carried his head to London, the events of this tale are a continuation of the former; and the end of it is the doing away some spells or enchantments laid upon Dimetia, arising out of events in the tale of Pwyll.

No. 6. This tale follows the other in connexion; but the incidents in it are distinct, so that it may be considered as a separate

there, which is very probable ; though one of the Triads says, that after he had sailed he was

one. It opens with an embassy from Math, prince of Gwynedd, (*Gwenddôr*) to Pryderi the son of Pwyll, prince of Dyved (*Dimethia*). The ambassadors are twelve bards, with Gwydion the son of Don at their head, who had magic spells at command. The object was, by means of rich presents, to obtain a race of new swine, which Pryderi had possession of, and these were swine, being the first of the kind in the island. The request is refused ; but Gwdion, by illusions, obtains the swine.

Pryderi, in revenge, invades Gwynedd ; the consequence is the ruin of both countries ; and the tale proceeds with a series of spells, often very fanciful and striking.

The above tales I class by themselves, as they contain not one incident connected with the adventures of Arthur and his warriors, who are the actors in the following class of tales.

Second List:

- No. 1. Peredur ab Evrog: *Peredur the son of Evrog.*
- No. 2. Culhwch ab Cilydd: *Culhwch the son of Cilydd,* 228.
- ... ab Celyddon Wledig: *reign of Celyddon (Caledonia).*
- No. 3. Geraint ab Erbin: *Geraint the son of Erbin.*
- No. 4. Owain ab Urien: *Owain the son of Urien.*

I have not a copy of No. 4. I believe there are several other tales in the Hengwrt collection.

With respect to the periods when these tales were composed, it would be difficult to say ; but I have no hesitation in concluding them all to be anterior to the conquest of Wales by Ed. I. A. D. 1283. All the personages therein were real characters, most of whom are often mentioned by the earlier Bards ; and many are mentioned in the historical Triads ; many of the events in the tales are likewise recorded in the Triads. Taliessin, who flourished in the sixth century, mentions several of the incidents of these tales ; so also do the poets who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."

never heard of more, which, if the writer lived in South Wales, might well be true there, considering the remote and unfrequented situation of Bardsey.¹² “The ship of glass is, by the author of the mythology of the Druids, ingeniously explained as signifying a sacred vessel, emblematic of the ark, and the name of Bangor Wydrin, or Glass Bangor, (an ancient name of Glastenbury) confirms the idea of Wydr, literally glass, signifying sacred. I believe *gwydr*, in these instances, has no connexion with, or relation to, the same sound, when signifying glass, but that its true signification is sacred, though not now so used.” (*Roberts's Camb. Antiq.* p. 78.) Thus defined, the true meaning of this legend, is no other, than that Merlin

¹² The Saxon incursion above mentioned may be that alluded to in the following quotation from the poem called the chair of Taliesin—“that for the lands of Bardsey there will be an inroad—a fleet shall arise on the face of the water. Let them call upon him whom we have found sufficient, that he may protect us from the wrath of the alien race.”—This spot, as well as Mona, was sacred to the ancient superstition, “and seems to have been one of the seats of the supreme proprietor; or places of re-animation.” (*Davies's Mythology*, p. 503.) The chair of Taliesin, like several other of the ancient British poems, contains references to the native superstitions, mixed with tenets of the Christian faith. (See Appendix.)

went to sea in a sacred ship. On examining the work last quoted, a small boat of glass was, in the opinion of Mr. Davies, a symbol of initiation into the druidical mysteries. "We are not hence to conclude that the Druids regarded the sacred ship as constructed of that material; but that they esteemed little glass models as very sacred symbols of the mystical vessel, and held the material itself in religious esteem. Thus the stranger in the poem of the Chair of Taliesin, is introduced to the nocturnal mysteries, by exhibiting his boat of glass, which must have been an emblem of the ark. Merddin and his nine bards put to sea in the house of glass, which could have been nothing more than a mystical representation of the ark, &c. &c. &c." (*Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*; p. 211, 270, 277, 522.)

The next instances, are the predictions and legend of Merlin. These in Mark, appear in an incipient form; they were augmented from time to time, and became a standing and national oracle. In Jeffrey, they are amplified, and brought down lower than Caputo. During the fourteenth century, an event is recorded,

which proves their acknowledged importance. In a national duel between the English and the French nobility, which was fought in Brittany, (between Ploermele and Josselin) in the reign of John the Second, Brembo, one of the champions of the former, when his associates were brought together for the combat, asserted, that he had a prediction of Merlin in his favour:— the prophet deceived him. (*Moss's History of Dietting*, pt. i. sect. 16. p. 47.) These prophecies were afterwards brought down to the demise of our James the First. (Caermarthen, 1612. 8vo.)

The next allusion I notice in these prophecies, is the cementing the foundation of Vortigern's castle, with the blood of a human sacrifice. Notwithstanding the severe edicts issued by Tiberius against magical arts, and immolation, both in Gaul and Britain, it appears, that in the time of Pliny (*N. H. l. 30. c. 1. Sueton. v. Claud. c. 25.*) they still continued. Davies is of the opinion, that these practices were only suppressed in those parts of the province, which were more immediately under the inspection of government, and of course most noxious to publick censure. He says, there

was in the north of Britain, or in an adjacent island, (it might be beyond the limits of the empire) a seminary of Druids, where the doctrines and discipline of heathenism were cultivated without control; and after the departure of the Romans, their abominable rites were brought back from the north into Mona, and into other parts of Wales; and that the northern seminary was not suppressed till the close of the ninth century. One of the presidents of this society was Gwenddolew, a passage relating to whom is quoted from the Hafanau, a poem, by Merddin, in the northern dialect. (*Davies's Mythology*, p. 461, 466. *Camb. Biog. Gwenddolew*.)

The following singular compromise between christianity and druidism, is given from Dr. Jamieson's History of the Celts, (p. 20.)— “from which it should seem, that the sacrifice of a human victim, was thought by the druids a necessary propitiation, when the commencement of an undertaking was not successful. When Columba first attempted to build Iona, the walls, as is said, by the operation of some evil spirit, fell down as fast as they were erected. Columba received supernatural intimation, that

they would never stand, unless a human victim, was buried alive. According to one account, the lot fell on Orap, the companion of the saint, as a victim that was demanded for the success of the undertaking ; he suffered accordingly. (Roberts's Camb. Antig. p. 63.)

The next relates to the concealment of the white and red dragons; the first the emblem of the Saxons, the second of the Britons. This fable is of early existence, and is explained in the Triad of the three concealments of Britain, "the third, the dragons buried by Lludd, the son of Beli, in the city of Pharae, (Dinas Emrys) in the mountains of Snowden. These three concealments were laid under the protection of God, and his attributes, and with imprecations against the person who should distinguish them. Vortigern discovered the dragons to avenge himself on the Cymry, for their disaffection to him, and then invited the Saxons as allies, against the Picts, &c." (Collect. Camb. vol. i. p. 69. n); "The whole of this story seems to have been founded on some bardic ceremony, or imposture, now unknown, in which Merlin seems to have been merely

the instrument of the bards; and, perhaps, a party of them, which had embraced Christianity. Whatever was the real nature of this transaction, the pretensions of the bards to prophecy were constant; and those of Merddin were allowed, and, certainly, had a great and decisive effect in sustaining the spirit of the Britons to oppose their enemies." (*Ibid.* p. 120. n.)

Mr. Ritson is equally pertinacious, as to the gothic antiquities. "The Edda itself, if not a rank forgery, is, at least, a comparatively modern book of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, manifestly compiled long after Christianity was introduced into the north. Saxo, a very ancient writer. (1204) knew nothing of any Qdip, but a magician, whom the stupidity of the inhabitants of Upsal adored as a God." (*Diss.* p. 30.) This scepticism is disproved by the Saxon genealogy in *Mark*, of which Qdip is the stem;—and, also, by the authority of Bede, (*Hist. l. 1, c. 15,*) where the same origin is asserted.

The compilation before us, apparently formed by a Cambrian Briton, is best illustrated by the records of the principality. These have of late

years been objects of minute investigation to men, who from talents and attainments are capable of estimating their value;—and the names of PUGHE, TURNER, ROBERTS, and DAVIES, will ever be remembered with respect. Nor can I perceive how we are justified in withholding from the traditions of our own country, the faith we repose on those of distant ages, which, like them, were orally delivered, and on which so much of ancient history is founded. That I do not always yield my assent to the extent assumed by those gentlemen is perhaps owing to my own incompetency. As occasion requires, I place in them that temperate confidence, to which they seem entitled. Of the authors now cited, my best thanks belong to Mr. OWEN PUGHE; for, independently of his publications, his assistance, both by letter and conference, has never been denied. The most respectful conduct towards an absent friend is to avoid making him the subject of panegyric; yet, interested motives apart, I cannot suppress the avowal, that I feel gratified in ranking him with those I highly esteem. If my opinion were demanded as to the

merit of this production, I should reply, — Ancient literary remains, rescued from long oblivion, are often contemplated with a degree of partiality, bordering on enthusiasm, independent of their intrinsic excellence. But, in works like the present, which display no expression of mind, nor any traces of genius, it might be more beneficial, as it would be more equitable, calmly to estimate them by the utility to which they are subservient.

As a literary composition, the "Historia Brittonum" maintains a place, between the meagre chronicle, and that superior effort of talent which claims the name of history. Neither does the compiler deserve the appellation of author; since any one, destitute of endowments, but possessing common industry, might from existing authors, the registers of convents, and memorials orally delivered, have gleaned these excerpts. The value of it, then, consists in being the repository of certain occurrences, in our days not elsewhere recognized, or of so early a date, and of traditions otherwise forgotten. In a dispassionate survey, therefore, let us not underrate the labours of the obscure recluse, who, though eo-

copied in as humble department of literature, was collecting materials, which, aided by learning, and corrected by judgment, were destined in the course of ages to illustrate and adorn the pages of our national history. Thus considered, the estimate of this and similar manuscripts is allied to higher motives than curiosity, or the passion for ancient lore; since by them we are induced to investigate the skill possessed by our forefathers in those arts which meliorate and gladden life; we learn to be grateful that we live in an age when, by means of progressive improvements, we are not only freed from innumerable privations as well as evils which they endured, but are taught to form a just estimate of our social and domestic happiness; and, as the circle of our pursuits expands, by the efforts of united wisdom and the gradual progress of experience, cheers us with anticipations of higher degrees of intellectual advancement.

A man has no right to complain of the task he voluntarily imposes on himself, and which he may always abandon; but, on occasions like the present, the discouragements he encounters in his progress are formidable and

inconsistency. These arise principally from contradictory, sterile, and inaccurate details, which, unchastised by criticism, indolence or credulity, have been transmitted from one chronicle to another; so that the narrative which the antiquarian composes in the morning, like the web of Penelope, is commonly to be disarranged in the evening. To be thus tantalized might, indeed, be tolerable, could he ascertain that truth would eventually reward his assiduity. Yet, under the happiest guidance of ability, and with materials less defective, if care and industry have not been wanting, allowances are not denied to instances of unsuccessful elucidation.¹²

I mean not hence to soften the reader by depreciation; an attempt which never rescued an author from oblivion, nor protected him from insufficiency. But, it is allowable to assert, that no one, who for the first time, undertook the editing of a work like that now offered to the publick, could be aware of the irksomeness of the engagement, nor who could more

¹² "In magna sylva boni venatoris est indagantem feras, quamplurimas capere, nec, cuiquam culpe fuit non omnes cepisse." (Columell. l. 5, c. 1.)

truly sympathize with the wearied copiers of Greek manuscripts, who not unfrequently thus hailed the termination of their labours:

ΟΛΗΣ ΗΝΟΙ ΧΑΡΟΤΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΒΑΝΙΩΝ
ΟΤΤΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΓΡΑΦΟΤΣΙ ΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΕΙΒΑΙΟΥ.

3. In particular, and above all others, we have
seen that the Britons were a people who
had been long separated from the rest of
the world; **THE**

"HISTÓRIA BRITTONUM."

FROM Adam¹ to the flood are two thousand and forty-two years. From the flood to Abraham nine hundred and forty-two. From Abraham to Moses, six hundred. From Moses to Solomon, and the first building of the temple, four hundred and forty-eight. From Solomon to the re-building of the temple, which was under Darius, King of the Persians, six hundred and twelve years are computed. From Darius to the ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius, are five hundred and forty-eight years. So that from Adam to the ministry of Christ, and the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius, are five thousand two hundred and twenty-eight years. From the Passion of Christ are completed, nine hundred and forty-six; from his Incarnation, nine hundred and seventy-six;

being the fifth year of Edmund,¹ King of the Angles.

The first age of the world is from Adam to Noah; the second from Noah to Abraham; the third from Abraham to David; the fourth from David to Daniel; the fifth to John the Baptist; the sixth from John to the Judgment, when our Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge the living and the dead, and the world by fire.²

The first Julius. The second Claudius. The third Severus. The fourth Carinus. The fifth Constantius. The sixth Maximus. The seventh Maximianus. The eighth another Severus Aequantius. The ninth Constantius.

Here beginneth the history of the Britons, edited by Mark⁴ the Anchorite, a holy Bishop of that people. The island of Britain derives its name from Brutus,⁵ a Roman consul.⁶ Taken from the south-west point (with something of an occidental bearing) to the northern extremity,⁸ it measures 800 miles, and is in breadth 200. It contains 33 Cities,⁹ viz.

i · Cair ébrauc · ii · Cair ceint · iii · Cair gurcoc · iv · Cair guor thegern · v · Cair gus-teint · vi · Cair guoranegon · vii · Cair segeint · viii · Cair guia truis · ix · Cair merdin · x · Cair peris · xi · Cair lion · xii · Cair mincipit · xiii · Cair caratauc · xiv · Cair ceri · xv · Cair gloui · xvi · Cair luilid · xvii · Cairgraft · xviii · Cair daun · xvix · Cair britoc · xx · Cair meguid · xxi · Cair mauiguid · xxii · Cair ligion · xxiii · Cair guent · xxiv · Cair collon · xxv · Cair londein · xxvi · Cair guorcon · xxvii · Cair lerion · xxviii · Cair drait hou · xxix · Cair pensavelcoin · xxx · Cair teim · xxxi · Cair urnahc · xxxii · Cair celernion · xxxiii · Cair loit coit.

These are the names of the ancient cities of the island of Britain.¹⁰ It has also a vast many promontories, and castles innumerable, built of brick and stone. Its inhabitants consist of four different people; the Scots, the Picts, the Saxons, and the ancient Britains. Three considerable islands belong to it; one, on the south, opposite the Armorican shore, called Wight,¹¹ another between Ireland and Britain called Eubonia¹² or Man; and another directly north, beyond the Picts, named Orkney;¹³ and hence it was anciently a proverbial expression, in reference to its kings and rulers,

"He reigned over Britain and its three Islands."¹⁴ It is fertilized by several rivers, which traverse it in all directions, to the east and west, to the south and north; but there are two pre-eminently distinguished among the rest, the Thames and the Severn; which formerly, like the two arms of Britain, bore the ships employed in the conveyance of the riches acquired by commerce. The Britains¹⁵ were once very populous, and exercised extensive dominion by sea. Respecting the period when this island became inhabited subsequently to the flood, I have seen two distinct relations. According to the annals of the Roman history, the Britains deduce their origin both from the Greeks and Romans. On the side of the mother, from Lavina, the daughter of Latinus, King of Italy, and of the race of Silvanus, the son of Inachus, the son of Dardanus; who was the son of Saturn, King of the Greeks, and who having possessed himself of a part of Asia, built the city of Troy. Dardanus was the father of Troius, who was the father of Priam and Anchises; Anchises was the father of Eneas, who was the father of Ascanius and Silvius; and this Silvius was the son of Eneas and Lavina, the daughter of the king of Italy. From the sons of Eneas and Lavina descended Romulus and Remus, who were the sons of the holy Queen Rhea, and the founders of Rome. Bru-

tus was consul when he conquered Spain, and reduced that country to a Roman province. He afterwards subdued the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were the descendants of the Romans, from Silvius Posthumus, thus named, because born after the death of his father Eneas. His mother, Lavina, having concealed herself during her pregnancy, and having been born in a wood was denominated Silvius; and hence the Roman kings are called *sylvan*; but the Britains are those who sprang from the family of Brutus.

Eneas, after the Trojan war, arrived with his son in Italy; and having vanquished Turnus, married Lavina, the daughter of king Latinus, who was the son of Faunus, the son of Picus, the son of Saturn. After the death of Latinus, Eneas obtained the kingdom of the Romans, and Lavina brought forth a son, who was named Silvius. Ascanius founded Alba,¹⁶ and afterwards married. His wife, Lavina,¹⁷ became pregnant, and Eneas being informed of it, ordered his son to consult a magician, to determine whether the child conceived were male or female. The magician pronounced it to be a son, who should become the most valiant among the Italians,¹⁸ and the most beloved of all men. In consequence of this prediction, the magician was put to death by Ascanius; but it happened that the mother of the child

dying at his birth, he was named Brutus; and after a certain interval, agreeably to what the magician had foretold, he displayed such superiority among his play-fellows, that they seemed to consider him as their chief. He was, from envy, expelled¹⁹ from Italy, and came to the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea,²⁰ when he was exiled on account of the death of Turnus, slain by Eneas. He then went among the Gauls, and built the city of Tours, otherwise called Turnis. At length he came to this Island, named from him Britannia, dwelt there, and filled it with his own descendants; and it has been inhabited from that time to the present period. Eneas reigned over the Latins three years; Ascanius thirty-three years; after whom Silvius reigned twelve years, and Posthumus thirty-nine years: the latter, from whom the kings of Alba are called Silvan, was brother to Brutus, who governed Britain at the time Eli the high priest judged Israel, and when the ark of the covenant was taken by a foreign people.

After an interval of not less than eight hundred years, came the Picts,²¹ and occupied the Orkney Islands, whence they laid waste many regions, and seized those of the northern districts,²² where they still remain, keeping possession of a third part of Britain²³ to this day. Long after this, the Scots²⁴ arrived in Ireland from Spain. The first that came was Partho-

Iomus, with a thousand men and women; these increased to four thousand; but a mortality coming suddenly upon them, they all perished in one week. The second was Nimech, the son of [redacted], who, according to report, after having been at sea a year and a half, and having his ships shattered, arrived at a port in Ireland, and continuing there several years, returned at length with his followers to Spain. After these came three sons of a Spanish soldier with thirty ships,²⁵ each of which contained thirty women; and having remained there during the space of a year, there appeared to them, in the middle of the sea, a tower of glass,²⁶ the summit of which seemed covered with men, to whom they often spoke, but received no answer. At length they determined to besiege the tower; and after a year's preparation, advanced towards it, with the whole number of their ships, and all the women, one ship only excepted, which had been wrecked, and in which were thirty men, and as many women; but when all had disembarked on the shore which surrounded the tower, the sea opened and swallowed them up. Ireland, however, was peopled, to the present period, from the family remaining in the vessel which was wrecked.

Afterwards, others came from Spain,²⁷ and possessed themselves of various parts of Britain.

Last of all came one Hoccor, who continued there, and whose descendants remain there to this day. Istoreth, the son of Istorinus, with his followers, held Dalmeta, Builc, the island Eubonia,²⁸ and other adjacent places. The sons Liethali²⁹ obtained the country of the Dimetæ, and the provinces Guoher and Cetgueli, which they held till they were expelled from every part of Britain, by Cuneda and his sons.

³⁰ According to the most learned among the Scots, Ireland was a desert, and uninhabited, at the time when the children of Israel crossed the Red Sea, in which, as we read in the Book of the Law, the Egyptians were drowned. At that period, there lived among this people, with a numerous family, a Scythian of noble birth, who had been banished from his country, and had never persecuted the people of God. The Egyptians who were left, seeing the destruction of the great men of their nation, and fearing lest he should possess himself of their territory, took counsel together, and expelled him. Thus reduced, he wandered forty-two years in Africa, and arrived, with his family, at the altars of the Philistines,³¹ by the Lake of Osiers.³² Then passing between Rusicada³³ and the hilly country of Syria, they travelled by the river Malva³⁴ through Mauritana as far as the Pillars of Hercules; and navigating the Sea, landed in

Spain, where they continued many years, having greatly increased and multiplied. Thence, a thousand and two years after the Egyptians were lost in the Red Sea, they passed into Ireland. At that period, Brutus, who first exercised the consular office, reigned over the Romans; and the state, which before was governed by regal power, was afterwards ruled, during four hundred and forty-seven years, by consuls, tribunes of the people, and dictators.

The Britains came to Britain in the third age of the world; and in the fourth, the Scots took possession of Ireland.

³³The Britains who, suspecting no hostilities, were unprovided with the means of defence, were unanimously and incessantly attacked, both by the Scots from the West, and by the Picts from the North. A long interval after this, the Romans obtained the empire of the world. From the first arrival of the Saxons into Britain, to the fourth year of King Mermenus, are computed four hundred and twenty-eight years; from the Nativity of our Lord to the coming of St. Patrick among the Scots, four hundred and five years; from the death of St. Patrick to that of St. Bridget, forty years; and from the birth of Columcille to the death of St. Bridget, four years.

³⁴I have learned another account of this Bru-

tus from the ancient books of our ancestors! After the deluge, the three sons of Noah severally occupied three different parts of the earth: Shem into Asia, Ham into Africa; and Japhet into Europe.

The first man that dwelt in Europe was Alanus; with his three sons, Hisicion, Armenon, and Neugio. Hisicion had four sons, Francus, Romanus, Alamanus, and Brutus. Armenon had five sons, Gothus, Valagothus, Cibidus, Burgundus, and Longobardus. Neugio had three sons, Vandalus, Saxo, and Boganus. From Hisicion arose four nations—the Franks, the Latins, the Germans, and Britains: from Armenon, the Goths, Valagothi, Cibidi, Burgundi, and Longobardi; from Neugio, the Bogari, Vandali, Saxones, and Tarincgi. The whole of Europe was subdivided into these tribes.

Alanus is said to have been the son of Fethuir; Fethuir, the son of Ogomuin, who was the son of Thoi: Thoi was the son of Boibus; Boibus of Semion; Semion of Mair; Mair of Ecthactus; Ecthactus of Aurthack; Aurthack of Ethec; Ethec of Ooth; Ooth of Aber; Aber of Ra; Ra of Esraa; Esraa of Hisrau; Hisrau of Bath; Bath of Jobath; Jobath of Joham; Joham of Jafet; Jafet of Noah; Noah of Lamech; Lamech of Mathusalem; Mathusalem of Enoch; Enoch of Jared; Jared of Malalehel;

Malalebel of Cainan; Cainan of Enos; Enos of Seth; Seth of Adam; and Adam was formed by the living God.

From ancient tradition, we have obtained this information respecting the original inhabitants of Britain. The Britains were thus called from Brutus; Brutus was the son of Hisicion; Hisicion was the son of Alanus; Alanus was the son of Rhea Silvia; Rhea Silvia was the daughter of Numa Pompilius; Numa was the son of Ascanius; Ascanius of Eneas; Eneas of Anchises; Anchises of Troius; Troius of Dardanus; Dardanus of Flisa; Flisa of Juuin; Juuin of Jafeth; but Jafeth had seven sons; from the first, named Gomer, descended the Galli; from the second, Magog, the Scythi and Gothi; from the third, Madian, the Medi; from the fourth, Juuan, the Greeks; from the fifth, Tubal, arose the Hebrei, Hispani, and Itali; from the sixth, Mosoch, sprung the Cappadoces; and from the seventh, named Tiras, descended the Traces: these are the sons of Jafeth, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech.

The Romans having obtained the dominion of the world, sent legates or deputies to the Britains to demand of them hostages and tribute, which they received from all other countries and islands; but they, fierce, disdainful, and haughty, treated the legation with contempt.

Then Julius Caesar, the first who had acquired

universal empire, highly incensed against the Britains, sailed with sixty vessels to the mouth of the Thames,³⁷ where they greatly suffered whilst he fought at Deal³⁸ (the proconsul³⁹ of the British king, who was called Belinus, and who was the son of Minocannus who governed all the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea), and thus Julius Cæsar returned home without victory, having had his soldiers slain, and his ships shattered. But after three years⁴⁰ he again appeared with a large army, and three hundred ships, at the mouth of the Thames, where he renewed hostilities. In this attempt many of his soldiers and horses were killed; for the same consul had placed iron pikes⁴¹ in the shallow part of the river,⁴² and this having been effected with so much skill and secrecy as to escape the notice of the Roman soldiers, did them considerable injury; thus Cæsar was once more compelled to return without peace or victory. The Romans were, therefore, a third time sent against the Britains; and, under the command of Julius, defeated them near a place called Trinovantum, forty-seven years before the birth of Christ, and five thousand, two hundred and twelve years from the Creation.

Julius⁴³ was the first exercising supreme power over the Romans who invaded Britain: in honor of him the Romans decreed the fifth month to be called after his name. He was

assassinated in the Curia⁴⁴ in the Ides of March, and Octavus Augustus succeeded to the empire of the world. He was the only emperor who received tribute from the Britains, according to the following verse of Virgil,

" " *Purpurea intexti tollunt aulae Britanni.*"

⁴⁵" The second after him, who came into Britain, was the Emperor Claudius, who reigned forty-seven years after the Birth of Christ. He carried with him war and devastation; and, though not without loss of men, he at length conquered Britain. He next sailed to the Orkneys, which he likewise conquered, and afterwards rendered tributary. No tribute was in his time received from the Britains. He reigned thirteen years and eight months.⁴⁶ His monument is to be seen at Moguntia (among the Lombards) where he died in his way to Rome.

⁴⁷ After the Birth of Christ, one hundred and sixty-seven years, King Lucius, with all the chiefs of the British people received Baptism, in consequence of a legation sent by the Roman Emperors and Pope Euaristus.

Severus was the third emperor who passed the sea to Britain; where, to protect the provinces recovered, from barbaric incursions, he ordered a wall and a rampart to be made between the Britains, the Scots, and the Picts,

extending across the island from sea to sea, in length one hundred and thirty-three miles:¹⁹ for the Scots²⁰ from the west, and the Picts from the north, unanimously made war against the Britains.

²¹The fourth was the Emperor Caritus, who, incensed at the murder of Severus,²² passed into Britain, and attended by the leaders of the Roman people, severely avenged upon the chiefs and rulers of the Britains, the cause of Severus.

²³The fifth was Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great. He died in Britain; his sepulchre, as it appears by the inscription, is still seen near the city named Cair ségeint. Upon the pavement of the above-mentioned city he sowed three seeds of gold, silver, and brass, that no poor person might ever be found in it.

²⁴Maximus was the sixth emperor that ruled in Britain. It was in his time that consuls began, and that the appellation of Cæsar was discontinued: at this period also, St. Martin became celebrated for his virtues and miracles.

The seventh emperor was Maximianus. He withdrew from Britain with all its military force, slew Gratianus, the king of the Romans, and obtained the sovereignty of all Europe. Unwilling to send back²⁵ his warlike companions

to their wives, children, and possessions in Britain, he conferred upon them numerous districts; from the Lake on the summit of Mons Lovis, to the city called Cant Guic, and to the western Tumulus, that is, to Cruc Occident. These are the Armorick Britains,⁵⁶ and they remain there to the present day.⁵⁷ In consequence of their absence,⁵⁸ Britain being overcome by foreign nations, the lawful heirs were cast out, till God interposed with his assistance. We are informed by the tradition⁵⁹ of our ancestors that seven Emperors went into Britain, though the Romans affirm *there were nine.*

⁶⁰ The eighth was another Severus, who lived occasionally in Britain, and sometimes at Rome, where he died.

⁶¹ The ninth was Constantius who reigned sixteen years in Britain, and according to report, was treacherously murdered in the seventeenth year of his reign; and thus, agreeably to the account given by the Britains, the Romans governed them four hundred and nine years..

⁶² After this the Britains despised the authority of the Romans, equally refusing to pay them tribute, or to receive their kings; nor durst the Romans any longer attempt the government of a country, the natives of which massacred their deputies.

We must now return to the tyrant Maximian; Gratian, with his brother Valentinian, reigned

from the inroads of the Scots and Picts, but also from the Romans, and their apprehensions of Ambrosius.

In the mean⁶⁵ time, three⁶⁶ vessels, exiled from Germany,⁶⁷ arrived in Britain.⁶⁸ They were commanded by Hors and Henegest,⁶⁹ brothers, and sons of Guictglis. Guictglis was the son of Guicta; Guicta of Guechta; Guechta of Vuoden; Vuoden of Frealof; Frealof of Fredulf; Fredulf of Finn; Finn of Foleguald; Foleguald of Geta,⁷⁰ who, as they say, was the son of a god, not of the omnipotent God and our Lord Jesus Christ, (who, before the beginning of the world, was with the Father and the Holy Spirit, coeternal and of the same substance, and who, in compassion to human nature, disdained not to assume the form of a servant,) but the offspring of one of their idols, and whom, blinded by some demon, they worshipped according to the custom of the heathen. Vortigern received them as friends, and delivered up to them the island which is in their language, called Tenet,⁷¹ and, by the Britains, Roihin.⁷² Gratianus Æquantius, at that time, reigned in Rome.⁷³ The Saxons were received by Vortigern, four hundred and forty-seven years after the passion of Christ, and, "according to the tradition of our ancestors," from the period of their first arrival in Britain, to the first year of the reign of king Edmund, five

hundred and forty-two years; and to that in which we now write, which is the fifth of his reign, five hundred and forty-seven years.

At that time⁷⁴ St. Germanus, distinguished for his numerous virtues, came to preach in Britain: by his ministry, many were saved; but many likewise died unconverted. Of the various miracles which God enabled him to perform, I shall here mention only a few: I shall first⁷⁵ advert to that concerning an iniquitous and tyrannical king, ⁷⁶ named Belinus. The holy man, informed of his wicked conduct, hastened to visit him, for the purpose of remonstrating with him. When the man of God, with his attendants, arrived at the gate of the city, they were respectfully received by the keeper of it, who came out and saluted them. Him they commissioned to communicate their intention to the king, who returned a harsh answer, declaring, with an oath, that although they remained there for the space of a year, they should not find admission to the city. While waiting for an answer, the evening came on, and they knew not where to go. At length came one of the king's servants, who, bowing himself before the man of God, announced the words of the tyrant, inviting them, at the same time, to his own house, to which they went, and were kindly received. It happened, however, that he had no cattle, except one cow and a

calf, the latter of which, urged by generous hospitality to his guests, he killed, dressed, and set before them. But holy St. Germanus ordered his companions not to break a bone of the calf; and, the next morning, it was found alive uninjured, and standing by its mother. Early the same day, they again went to the gate of the city, to solicit audience of the wicked king; and, whilst engaged in fervent prayer they were waiting for admission, a man, covered with sweat, came out, and prostrated himself before them. Then St. Germanus, addressing him, said, "Dost thou believe in the Holy Trinity?" To which having replied, "I do believe," he baptized, and kissed him, saying, "Go in peace; within this hour thou shalt die: the angels of God are waiting for thee in the air; with them thou shalt ascend to that God in whom thou hast believed." He, overjoyed, entered the city, and being met by the Prefect, was seized, bound, and conducted before the tyrant, who, having passed sentence upon him, he was immediately put to death; for it was a law of this wicked king, that whoever was not at his labour before sun-rising should be beheaded in the citadel. In the mean time, St. Germanus, with his attendants, waited the whole day before the gate, without obtaining admission to the tyrant. The above-mentioned, however, remained with them. "Take care," said St.

Germanus to him, "that none of your friends remain this night within these walls." Upon this he hastily entered the city, brought out his nine sons, and, with them, retired to the house where he had exercised such generous hospitality. Here St. Germanus ordered them to continue, fasting; and when the gates were shut, "Watch," said he, "and whatever shall happen in the citadel, turn not thither your eyes; but pray without ceasing, and invoke the protection of the true God." And, behold, early in the night, fire fell from heaven, and burnt the city, together with all those who were with the tyrant, so that not one escaped; and that citadel has never been rebuilt even to this day. The following day, the hospitable man who had been converted by the preaching of St. Germanus, was baptized, with his sons, and all the inhabitants of that part of the country; and St. Germanus blessed him, saying, "a king shall not be wanting of thy seed for ever."⁷⁸ The name of this person is Catel Drunluc: "from henceforward thou shalt be a king all the days of thy life." Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the Psalmist—"He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the needy out of the dunghill." And, agreeably to the prediction of St. Germanus, from a servant he became a king: all his sons were kings, and, from⁷⁹ their offspring, the whole

country of Powys has been governed to this day.

After the Saxons had continued some time in the island of Tenet, Vortigern promised to supply them with clothing and provision, on condition they would engage to fight against the enemies of his country.⁶⁰ But the barbarians having greatly increased in number, the Britains became incapable of fulfilling their engagement; and when the Saxons, according to the promise they had received, claimed a supply of provisions and clothing, the Britains replied, "Your number is increased; your assistance is now unnecessary; you may, therefore, return home, for we can no longer support you:" and hereupon they began to devise means of breaking the peace between them. But Hengist, in whom united craft and penetration, perceiving he had to act with an ignorant king, and a fluctuating people, incapable of opposing much resistance, replied to Vortigern, "We are, indeed, few in number; but, if you will give us leave, we will send to our country for an additional number of forces, with whom we will fight for you and your subjects." Vortigern assenting to this proposal,⁶¹ messengers were dispatched to Scythia, where, selecting a number of war-like troops, they returned with sixteen vessels,⁶² bringing with them the beautiful daughter of Hengist. And now the Saxon chief prepared

an entertainment, to which he invited the king, his officers, and Ceretic,⁸³ his interpreter, having previously enjoined his daughter to serve them so profusely with wine and ale, that they might soon become intoxicated. This plan succeeded ; and Vortigern, at the instigation of the Devil, and enamoured with the beauty of the damsel, demanded her, through the medium of his interpreter, of the father, promising to give for her whatever he should ask. Then Hengist, who had already consulted with the Elders who attended him of the Angle race,⁸⁴ demanded for his daughter the province, called in English Centland,⁸⁵ in British, Ceint. This portion was made without the knowledge⁸⁶ of the regulus, who then reigned in Kent, and who experienced no inconsiderable share of grief, from seeing his kingdom thus clandestinely, fraudulently, and imprudently resigned to foreigners. Thus the maid was delivered up to the king, who slept with her, and loved her exceedingly. Hengist, after this, said to Vortigern, “ I will be to you, both a father and an adviser ; despise not my counsels, and you shall have no reason to fear being conquered by any man or any nation whatever ; for the people of my country are strong, warlike, and robust : if you approve, I will send for my son and his brother, both valiant men, who, at my invitation will fight against the Scots,⁸⁷ and the peo-

ple who dwell in the North, near the wall called Guaul. The incautious sovereign having assented to this; and Ochta and Ebissa arrived with forty ships. In these they sailed round the country of the Picts, laid waste the Orkneys, and took possession of many regions, even to the Pictish confines.

But Hengist continued, by degrees, sending for ships from his own country; so that some islands whence they came were left⁸⁸ without inhabitants; and whilst his people were increasing in power and number, they came to the province of Kent. In the mean time, Vortigern, as if desirous of⁸⁹ adding to the evils he had already occasioned, married his own daughter, by whom he had a son.⁹⁰ When this was made known to St. Germanus, he came, with all the British clergy, to reprove him; and whilst a numerous assembly of the ecclesiastics and laity were in consultation, the weak king ordered his daughter to appear before them, and in the presence of all, to present her son to St. Germanus, and declare that he was the father of the child. The immodest woman obeyed; and St. Germanus taking the child, said, “I will be a father to you, my son; nor will I dismiss you till a razor, scissars, and comb, are given to me by your carnal father. The child obeyed St. Germanus, and going to his father, Vortigern,

said to him, ⁹¹ “Thou art my father, shave, and cut the hair of my head.”

The king blushed, and was silent; and, without replying to the child, arose in great anger, and fled from the presence ⁹² of St. Germanus, execrated and condemned by the whole synod. But soon calling together his twelve wise men, to consult what was to be done, they said to him, “Retire to the remote boundaries of your kingdom; there build and fortify a city to defend yourself, for the people you have received are treacherous; they are seeking to subdue you by stratagem, and, even during your life, to seize upon all the countries subject to your power, how much more will they attempt after your death.” The king, pleased with this advice, departed with his wise men, and travelled through many parts of his territories, in search of a place convenient for the purpose of building a citadel. Having, to no purpose, travelled ⁹³ far and wide, they came at length to a province called Guenet; and having ⁹⁴ surveyed the mountains of Heremus, they discovered, on the summit of one of them, a situation adapted to the construction of a citadel. Upon this, the wise men said to the king, “Build here a city; for, in this place, it will ever be secure against the barbarians.” Then the king sent for artificers, carpenters, stone-masons, and collected all the materials requisite to building; but the

whole of these disappeared in one night, so that nothing remained of what had been provided for the constructing of the citadel. Materials were, therefore, from all parts, procured a second and third time, and again vanished as before, leaving and rendering every effort ineffectual. Vortigern inquired of his wise men the cause of this opposition to his undertaking, and of so much useless expense of labour? They replied, ⁹⁵ " You must find a child born without a father, put him to death, and sprinkle with his blood, the ground on which the citadel is to be built, or you will never accomplish your purpose." In consequence of this reply, the king sent messengers throughout Britain, in search of a child born without a father. After having inquired in all the provinces, they came to the field of Ælecti, ⁹⁶ in the district of Glevesing, where a party of boys were playing at ball. And two of them quarrelling, one said to the other, " O boy without a father, no good will ever happen to you." Upon this, the messengers diligently inquired of the mother and the other boys, whether he had had a father? Which his mother denied, saying, " In what manner he was conceived I know not, for I have never had intercourse with any man;" and then she solemnly affirmed that he had no mortal father. The boy was, therefore, conducted before Vortigern, his king; who, having

heard what was said of him, a meeting took place the next day, for the purpose of putting him to death. Then the boy said to the king, "Why have your servants brought me hither?" "That you may be put to death," replied the king; "and that the ground on which my citadel is to stand may be sprinkled with your blood, without which I shall be unable to build it." "Who," said the boy, "instructed you to do this?" "My wise men," answered the king. "Order them hither," returned the boy; this being complied with, he thus questioned them: "By what means was it revealed to you that this citadel could not be built, unless the spot were previously sprinkled with my blood? Speak without disguise, and declare who discovered me to you:" then turning to the king, "I will soon," said he, "unfold to you every thing; but I desire to question your wise men, and wish them to disclose to you what is hidden under this pavement:" they acknowledging their ignorance, "there is," said he, "a pool; come and dig:" they did so, and found the pool. "Now," continued he, "tell me what is in it;" but they were ashamed, and made no reply. "I," said the boy, "can discover it to you: there are two vases in the pool;" they examined, and found it so: continuing his questions, "What is in the vases?" they were silent: "there is a tent in them," said the boy;

"separate them, and you shall find it so :" this being done by the king's command, there was found in them a folded tent. The boy, going on with his questions, asked the wise men what was in it? But they not knowing what to reply, "There are," said he, "two serpents, one white and the other red ; unfold the tent :" they obeyed, and two sleeping serpents were discovered ; "consider attentively," said the boy, "what they are doing." The serpents began to struggle with each other; and the white one, raising himself up, threw down the other into the middle of the tent, and sometimes drove him to the edge of it ; and this was repeated thrice. At length the red one, apparently the weaker of the two, recovering his strength, expelled the white one from the tent ; and the latter being pursued through the pool by the red one, disappeared. Then the boy, asking the wise men what was signified by this wonderful omen, and they expressing their ignorance, he said to the king, "I will now unfold to you the meaning of this mystery. The pool is the emblem of this world, and the tent that of your kingdom : the two serpents are two dragons ; the red serpent is your dragon, but the white serpent is the dragon of the people who occupy several provinces and districts of Britain, even almost from sea to sea : at length, however, our people shall rise and drive

away the Saxon race from beyond the sea, whence they originally came; but do you depart from this place, where you are not permitted to erect a citadel; I, to whom fate has allotted this mansion, shall remain here; whilst, to you it is incumbent to seek other provinces, where you may⁹⁸ build a fortress."—"What is your name?" asked the king, "I am called Ambros, in British Embresguletic, returned the boy, a Roman consul was my father."

Then the⁹⁹ king assigned him that city, with all the western provinces of Britain; and¹⁰⁰ departing with his wise men to the sinistral district, he arrived in the region named Gueneri, where he built a city, which, according to his name, was called Cair Guorthegirn.¹⁰¹ At length Guorthermer, the son of Vortimer, valiantly fought against Hengist, Horsa, and his people; drove them to the isle of Tenet, and thrice enclosed them within it, and beset them on the western side.

The Saxons now dispatched deputies to Germany to solicit large re-inforcements, and an additional number of ships: having obtained these, they fought against the kings and princes of Britain, and sometimes extended their boundaries by victory, and sometimes were conquered and driven back.

Four times¹⁰² did Guorthermer valorously

attack the enemy ; the first has been mentioned, the second was upon the river Derwent, the third at the Ford, in their language called Episford, though in ours Set thirgabail, there Horsus fell, and Catigern, the son of Vortigern ; the fourth battle he fought, was near the stone on the shore of the Gallic Sea, where the Saxons being defeated,¹⁰³ fled to their ships.

After a short interval Guorthemer died ; before his decease, anxious for the future prosperity of his country, he charged his friends to inter his body at the entrance of the Saxon port, viz. upon the rock where the Saxons first landed ; for though, said he, they may inhabit other parts of Britain, yet if you follow my commands, they will never remain in this island.

They¹⁰⁴ imprudently disobeyed this last injunction, and neglected to bury him where he had appointed. After this, the¹⁰⁵ Barbarians became firmly incorporated, and were assisted by foreign Pagans ; for Vortigern was their friend, on account of the daughter of Hengist, whom he so much loved, that no one durst fight against him—in the mean time they soothed the imprudent king, and whilst practising every appearance of fondness, were plotting with his enemies. And let him that reads understand, that the Saxons were victorious,

and ruled Britain, not from their superior prowess, but on account of the great sins of the Britains : God so permitting it.

For what wise man will resist the wholesome counsel of God ? The Almighty is the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords, ruling and judging every one, according to his own pleasure.

After the death of Vortimer, Hengist being strengthened by new accessions, collected his ships, and calling his leaders together, consulted by what stratagem they might overcome Vortigern and his army ; with insidious intention they sent messengers to the king, with offers of peace and perpetual friendship ; unsuspecting of treachery, the monarch, after advising with his elders, accepted the proposals.

Hengist, under pretence of ratifying the treaty, prepared an entertainment, to which he invited the king, the nobles, and military officers, in number about three hundred ; speciously concealing his wicked intention, he ordered three hundred Saxons to conceal each a knife under his feet, and to mix with the Britains ; and when, said he, they are sufficiently inebriated, &c. cry out " Nimader sexa," then let each draw his knife, and kill his man ; but spare the king, on account of his marriage with my daughter, for it is better that he should be ransomed than killed.

The king with his company appeared at the feast ; and mixing with the Saxons, who whilst

they spoke peace with their tongues, cherished treachery in their hearts, each man was placed next his enemy.

After they had eaten and drunk, and were much intoxicated, Hengist suddenly vociferated “Nimader sexa,” and instantly his adherents drew their knives, and rushing upon the Britains, each slew him that sat next to him, and there were slain three-hundred of the nobles of Vortigern. The king being a captive, purchased his redemption, by delivering up the three provinces of East, South, and Middle Sex, besides other districts at the option of his betrayers.

St. Germanus¹⁰⁶ admonished Vortigern to turn to the true God, and abstain from all unlawful intercourse with his daughter; but the unhappy wretch fled for refuge to the province Gurthegoinnaim, so called from his own name, where he concealed himself with his wives: but St. Germanus followed him with all the British clergy, and upon a rock, prayed for his sins, during forty days and forty nights.

The blessed man was unanimously chosen commander against the Saxons. And then, not by the clang of trumpets, but by praying, singing hallelujah,¹⁰⁷ and by the cries of the army to God, the enemies were routed, and driven even to the Sea.

Again Vortigern ignominiously flew from St.

Germanus, to the kingdom of the Dimetæ, where, on the river Tivis, he built a castle, which he named Cair Guothergirn. The Saint, as usual, followed him there, and with his clergy, fasted and prayed to the Lord, three days, and as many nights. On the third night, at the third hour, fire fell suddenly from heaven, and totally burnt the castle. Vortigern, the daughter of Hengist, his other wives, and all the inhabitants, both men and women, miserably perished : such was the end of this unhappy king, as we find written in the life of St. Germanus. Others assure us, that being hated by all the people of Britain, for having received the Saxons, and being publicly charged by St. Germanus and the clergy in the sight of God, he betook himself to flight ; and that, deserted and a wanderer, he sought a place of refuge, till broken hearted, he made an ignominious end.

Some accounts state, that the earth opened and swallowed him up, on the night his castle was burnt ; as no remains were discovered the following morning, either of him, or of those who were burnt with him.

He had three sons :¹⁰⁸ the eldest was Vortimer, who, as we have seen, fought four times against the Saxons, and put them to flight ; the second Cathegirn, who was slain in the same battle with Horsus ; the third was Pas-

cept, who reigned in the two provinces Buelt and Guorthegormain, after the death of his father. These were granted him by Ambrosius, who was a great king among the kings of Britain. The fourth was Faustus, born of an incestuous marriage with his daughter,¹⁰⁹ who was brought up and educated by St. Germanus. He built a large monastery on the banks of the river Renis, called after his name, and which remains to the present period.¹¹⁰ This is the genealogy of Vortigern, which goes back to Fernmail, who reigned in the kingdom of Guorthegormain, and was the son of Teudor; Teudor was the son of Pascent; Pascent of Guoidcant; Guoidcant of Moriud; Moriud of Eltat; Eltat of Eldoc; Eldoc of Paul; Paul of Meuprit; Meuprit of Briacat; Briacat of Pascent; Pascent of Guorthegin; Guorthegin of Guortheneu; Guortheneu of Guitaul; Guitaul of Guitolion; Guitolion of Gloituda; Gloituda of Paulmerion, who built Gloituda, a great city, upon the banks of the river Severn, and in British, is called Cair Gloui, in Saxon, Gleucester. Enough has been said of Vortigern. St. Germanus after his death, returned into his own country.

At that time, the Saxons greatly increased in Britain, both in strength and numbers. And Octha, after the death¹¹¹ of his father Hengist, came from the sinistral part of the island to the

kingdom of Kent, and from him have proceeded all the kings of that province, to the present period.

Then it was, that the magnanimous Arthur,¹¹² with all the kings and military force of Britain, fought against the Saxons. And though there were many more noble than himself, yet he was twelve times¹¹³ chosen their commander, and was as often conqueror. The first battle in which he was engaged, was at the mouth of the river Glein. The second, third, fourth, and fifth, were on another river, by the Britains called Duglas, in the region Linnuis. The sixth, on the river Lussas. The seventh in the wood Celidon, which the Britains call Cacoit Celidon. The eighth was near Guinnion castle, where Arthur bore the image of the Holy Virgin, mother of God, upon his shoulders, and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Mary, put the Saxons to flight, and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter. The ninth was at the city of Leogis, which is called Cair Lion. The tenth was on the banks of the river Trat Treuroit. The eleventh was on the mountain Breguoin, which we call Cat Bregon. The twelfth was a most severe contest, when Arthur penetrated to the Hill of Badon. In this engagement, nine hundred and forty fell by his hand alone, no one but the Lord affording him assistance. In all these engage-

ments the Britains were successful. For no strength can avail against the will of the Almighty.

The more the Saxons were vanquished, the more they sought for new supplies of Saxons from Germany; so that kings, commanders, and military bands were invited over from almost every province. And this practice they continued till the reign of Ida,¹¹⁴ who was the son of Eobda, he, of the Saxon race, was the first king in Bernech, and in Cair Affrauc.

When Gratian *Æquantius* was consul in Rome, because then, the whole world was governed by the Roman consuls, the Saxons were received by Vortigern in the year of our Lord, four hundred and forty-seven, and to the year in which we now write, five hundred and forty-seven.¹¹⁵ And whosoever shall read herein may receive instruction, the Lord Jesus Christ affording assistance, who, co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Ghost, lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

¹¹⁶ In those days, Saint Patrick was a captive among the Scots. His master's name was Milchu, to whom he was a swineherd for seven years. When he had attained the age of seventeen, he gave him his liberty. By the divine impulse, he applied himself to reading of the Scriptures, and afterwards went to Rome, where, replenished with the Holy Spirit, he

continued a great while, studying the sacred mysteries of those writings. During his continuance there, Palladius, the first bishop, was sent by Pope Celestius to convert the Scots. But tempests and signs from God, prevented his landing, for no one can arrive in any country, except it be allowed from above; altering therefore his course from Ireland, he came to Britain, and died in the land of the Picts.

The death of Palladius being known, the Roman patricians Theodotius and Valentinus then reigning, Pope Celestius sent Patrick to convert the Scots to the faith of the Holy Trinity; Victor, the angel of God, accompanying, admonishing, and assisting him, and also the Bishop Germanus.

Germanus then sent the ancient Segerus with him as a venerable and praiseworthy Bishop, to King Matheus, who lived near and who had prescience of what was to happen, he was consecrated bishop in the reign of that King by the holy Pontiff, assuming the name of Patrick,¹¹⁷ having hitherto been known by that of Mauun; Auxilius, Iserninus, and other brothers were ordained with him to inferior degrees.

Having distributed benedictions, and perfected all in the name of the Holy Trinity, he embarked on the sea which is between the Gauls and the Britains; and after a quick passage arrived in Britain, where he preached for some

time. Every necessary preparation being made; and the angel giving him warning, he came to the Irish Sea. And having filled the ship with foreign gifts and spiritual treasures, by the permission of God, he arrived in Ireland, where he baptized and preached.

From the beginning of the world, to the fifth year of King Logiore, when the Irish were baptized, and faith in the unity of the individual trinity was published to them, are five thousand three hundred and thirty years. Saint Patrick taught the gospel in foreign nations, for the space of forty years. Endued with Apostolical powers, he gave sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, gave hearing to the deaf, cast out devils, raised nine from the dead, redeemed many captives of both sexes at his own charge, and set them free in the name of the Holy Trinity. He taught the servants of God, and he wrote three hundred and sixty-five canonical and other books relating to the Catholick Faith. He founded as many churches, and consecrated the same number of bishops, strengthening them with the Holy Ghost. He ordained three thousand Presbyters; and converted and baptized twelve thousand persons in the province of Connaught! And, in one day baptized seven kings, who were the seven sons of Amolgith. He continued fasting forty days and nights, on the

summit of the mountain Eli,¹¹⁸ that is, Crum-changeli; and preferred three petitions to God for the Irish, that had embraced the faith. The Scots say, the first was, that he would receive every repenting sinner, even at the latest extremity of life; the second, that they should never be exterminated by barbarians; and the third, that, as Ireland will be overflowed with water, seven years before the coming of our Lord to judge the quick and the dead, that the crimes of the people might be washed away through his intercession, and their souls purified at the last day. He gave the people his benediction from the upper part of the mountain, and going up higher, that he might pray for them, and that if it pleased God, he might see the effects of his labours, there appeared to him an innumerable flock of birds of many colours, signifying the number of holy persons of both sexes of the Irish nation, who should come to him as their apostle at the day of judgment, to be presented before the tribunal of Christ. After a life spent in the active exertion of good to mankind, St. Patrick, in a healthy old age, passed from this world to the Lord, and changing this life for a better, with the saints and elect of God, he rejoices for evermore.

Saint Patrick resembled Moses in four particulars. The angel spoke to him in the burning

bush. He fasted forty days and nights upon the mountain. He attained the period of one hundred and twenty years. No one knows his sepulchre, nor where he was buried; sixteen years he was in captivity. In his twenty-fifth year, he was consecrated bishop, by King Matheus, and he was eighty-five years the apostle of the Irish. It might be profitable to treat more at large of the life of this saint, but it is now time to conclude this epitome of his labours.

Here endeth the life of the holy bishop, Saint Patrick.

APPENDIX
TO THE
HISTORIA BRITTONUM.

—

HANES TALIESIN,
OR THE
HISTORY OF TALIESIN.

THE primary domestic bard
Am I to Elphin,
And my original country
Is the region of Cherubims.¹
Joannes the divine
Called me Merddin,
At length every king
Will call me Taliesin.
I was full nine months
In the womb of mother Cyridwen;²
I was little Gwion³ heretofore,
Taliesin am I now.

¹ According to the Bardic theology, the soul is an intelligence lapsed from the region of light or knowledge, and in this world making its progress through the circle of inchoation to its original state of happiness.

² A mythological being; that is, the smile of procreation; Venus.

³ A mythological person.

I was with my Lord
 In the superior state,
 When Lucifer did fall
 To the infernal deep.
 I have borne a banner
 Before Alexander :
 I know the names of the stars
 From the north to Auster.
 I have been in the circle of Gwdion
 Tetragrammaton ;^{*}
 I conducted Hean[†]
 To the depth of Ebron vale,
 I was in Canaan
 When Absalom was slain,
 I was in the Court of Don[‡]
 Before Gwdion was born,
 I was an attendant
 On Eli and Enoc ;
 I was on the cross-devoting sentence
 Of the son of the merciful God.
 I have been chief keeper
 Of the work of Nimrod's tower ;
 I have been three revolutions
 In the circle of Arianrod.[§]
 I was in the Ark
 With Noah and Alpha ;

* The Galaxy.

† The divine spirit.

‡ Llys Don, or the court of Don, is a name for the constellation of Cassiopeia. Don was father of Gwdion. So the Saxons say, Woden came from the banks of the Don.

§ Literally, the circle of the silver wheel, the same as the constellation, now called the Northern Crown.

I beheld the destruction
 Of Sodoma and Gomorra;
 I was in Africa
 Before Rome was built;
 I am come here
 To the remnants of Troia.
 I was with my Lord
 In the manger of the she ass;
 I strengthened Moses
 Through the Jordan water.
 I have been in the firmament
 With Mary Magdalen;
 I have been gifted with genius
 From the Cauldron of Cyridwen.
 I have been bard of the harp
 To Teon¹ of Lochlyn;
 I have endured hunger
 For the son of the Virgin.
 I have been in White Hill²
 In the court of Cynvelyn,
 In stocks and fetters,
 For a year and a day.
 I have had my abode
 In the kingdom of the Trinity;
 It is not known what is my body
 Whether flesh or fish.
 I have been an instructor
 To the whole universe;

¹ Alluding to the supposed origin of the Britons, *as taught them by the Romans.*

² Some copies have Lleon, others Thane?.

³ Denmark.

⁴ A name given to the Tower of London.

⁵ Alluding to his being found at sea.

I shall remain till the day of doom
On the face of the earth.
I have been in an agitated seat
Above the circle of Sidin,^{*}
And that continues revolving
Between three elements:
Is it not a wonder to the world,
That it reflects not a splendor?

* Literally, the revolving circle. The name would well apply to the Zodiac; but it is not certain whether that is meant, Caer Sidin, and Caer Sidydd, or some particular constellation.

*From Meyrick's History of Cardiganshire, p. 65,
2 vols. London, 1806.*

“HISTORIA BRITTONUM.”

Abadam¹ usq: addiluvium² anni · II · XLII; Adiluvio usq: adhabraham³ anni · DCCCCXLII. Abhabraham³ usq: admoysen⁴ anni DC: Amoysē usque adsalomonem et primam aedificationem templi⁵ anni · CCCC · LXXXVIII; A solomone usq: transmigrationem⁶ templi⁷ quae sub dario rege persarum facta est anni · DXII · computantur: Porro adario usq: adpredicationem domini nostri iesu christi⁸ et usque ad xv · annum imperii imperatoris tiberii expletur anni · DXLVIII; Ita simul fiunt ab adam usque ad predicationem christi⁸ et · xv · annum · imperii imperatoris tiberii v · cc · XXVIII; a passione christi peracti sunt anni⁹ · DCQCC · XLVI; Abincarnatione autem eius sunt anni · DCCCC · LXXVI · et v annus eadmundi¹⁰ regis anglorum; Prima igitur ætas mundi abadam usque ad noe;

¹ Legendum fore redificationem.

Secunda, anoe usq : adhabraham. Tertia, ab abraham? usque addavid; quarta, adavid? usque addanihelem; Quinta etas? usq : adiohan-nem baptistam. Sexta aiohnne usq : ad iuditium inquo dominus noster iesus christus veniet iudicare vivos ac mortuos et seculum per ignem ;

3

Primus iulius · Secundus claudius · Tertius
 Severus · Quartus Carinus · Quintus Constantius ·
 Sextus maximus; Septimus maximianus ·
 Octavus alias severus aequantius. Nonus
 Constantius, INCIPIT ISTORIA BRITTO-
 NUM EDITA AB ANACHORETA MAR-
 CO⁴ EIUSDEM GENTIS SCTO EPO ·
 BRITTANNIA INSULA; a quodam bruto⁵
 consule⁶ romano dicta est; haec consurgit ab
 africo boreali⁷ ad occidentem⁸ versa: DCCC⁹
 in longitudine milium? cc · in latitudine
 spatium habet? et in ea sunt · xxxiii · Ci-
 vitates⁹ · i · Cair ebrauc · ii · Cair ceint · iii · Cair
 gurcoe · iv · Cair guor thegern · v · Cair gus-
 teint · vi · Cair guoranegon · vii · Cair segeint
 · viii · Cair guin truis · ix · Cair merdin · x · Cair
 peris · xi · Cair lion · xii · Cair mencipit · xiii ·
 Cair caratauc · xiv · Cair ceri · xv · Cair gloui
 xvi · Cair luilid · xvii · Cair graut · xviii · Cair
 daun xix · Cair britoe · xx · Cair meguaid

•xxi• Cair mauiguid •xxii• Cair ligion •xxiii•
 Cair guent •xxiv• Cair collon •xxv• Cair
 londein •xxvi• Cair guorcon •xxvii• Cair lerion
 xxviii• Cair drait hou •xxix• Cair pensau-
 elcoin •xxx• Cair team •xxxi• Cair urnahc
 •xxxii• Cair celemion •xxxiii• Cair loit coit.

Haec sunt nomina antiquarum civitatum brittanniæ insulæ et innumerabilia promontoria.²⁰
Cum innumerabilibus castellis ex latere et
 lapidibus fabricatis; et in ea habitant IIII.
 gentes. Scotti. Picti. Saxones. et antiqui brittones; Tres magnas insulas habet; quarum una
 australis vergit contra armoricas. et vocatur
 insula guerth.¹¹ Secunda sita est in umbilico
 maris inter hiberniam et bryttaniam; et no-
 minatur eubonia vel manau.¹² Tertia est in
 extremo boreali limite orbis bryttaniæ ultra
 pictos et vocatur orch;¹³ Sic in proverbio di-
 citur antiquo quando de judicibus et regibus
 sermo fit; iudicavit bryttaniam? cum tribus
 insulis;¹⁴ Sunt in ea flumina multa; quae con-
 fluunt ad omnes partes eius. idest ad orientem
 et occidentem? ad meridiem et septentrionem;
 sunt tamen duo flumina praeclariora ceteris
 fluminibus? tamensis et sabrina; quasi duo bra-
 chia bryttaniæ? per quae olim rates veheban-
 tur ad deportandas divitias? pro causa nego-
 tiationis; Bryttones¹⁵ autem olim impleverunt

eam? et a mari usque ad mare judicaverunt;
Siquis scire voluerit quo tempore post diluvium
habitata est haec iusula? hoc experimentum
bifarie inveni; In annalibus autem romanorum
scriptum est;

De romanis vero et grecis trahunt ethimologiam? id est de matre Lavina filia latini regis italiae? et progenie silvani filii inahi filii dardani; Idem dardanus filius saturni regis grecorum perrexit ad partem asiæ? et ille aedicavit urbem troie; Dardanus pater troi? troius pater priami. et anchisæ? Anchises pater eneae. Eneas pater ascanni et silvii? silvius filius æneae et Lavinae filiae regis italiae. Et de stirpe filii eneae et Lavinae orti sunt Remus et romulus. duo filii reginæ sanctimonialis reae? id est iliae scilicet remus et romus? qui fecerunt romam. Brutus consul fuit in roma imperii romani quando expugnavit hispaniam. ac detraxit eam in servitutem rome et postea tenuit bryttanniam insulam? quam habitabant brytones romanorum filii? olim silvio posthumo orti; Ideo dicitur posthumus? quia post mortem æneae patris eius natus est. et fuit mater eius lavina super clandestina. quando pregnans erat; Ideo silvius dictus est? quia in silva natus est; ideo silvatici dicti sunt romani reges? et brytones qui de eo nati sunt; sed a bruto brytones? et de bruti stirpe surrexerunt;

Eneas igitur post troianum bellum cum as-

cano filio suo venit ad italiam. et superato
turno Labinam filiam latini regis italiæ in con-
iugium? filii fauni? filii pici? filii saturni? et
post mortem latini? æneas regnum obtinuit Ro-
manorum; Ascanius autem albam condidit;¹⁶
et postea uxorem duxit? Et peperit labina¹⁷
æneae filium: nomine silvium; Ascanius autem
duxit uxorem quae concipiens gravida facta
est; Et nuntiatum est æneae quod nyrus sua
gravida erat pregnans? et misit ad ascanium
filium suum. Ut mitteret magum suum ad
considerandum uxorem suam? ut exploraret
quid haberet in utero masculum vel feminam;
Et venit magus? consideravit uxorem? et dixit
ascanio æneae filio quod masculum haberet in
utero mulier; *Et filius esset omnium Hytalarum¹⁸*
fortissimus amabilis omnibus hominibus; Propter
hanc vaticinationem occisus est magus ab as-
canio; sic evenit? in nativitate illius mulier
(vel mater) mortua est? et nutritus est filius.
vocatumque est nomen eius bruto (vel britto);
Post multum vero intervallum iuxta vaticina-
tionem magi dum ipse luderet cum pueris? *omnes*
superabat. *ut omnium dominus videretur*, *Idecirco*
autem invidia? expulsus est ab italia, et armilis¹⁹
fuit; Et pervenit ad insulas maris terreni?²⁰ et
expulsus est inde causa occisionis turni. quem
æneas occidit; Et pervenit usque ad gallos? et

* Deest, accepit, aut quid simile.

ibi condidit civitatem torronorum? quæ vocatur turnis; Et postea ad istam pervenit insulam? quæ a nomine suo nomen accepit. id est brittannia? et implevit eam cum suo genere et habitavit in ea; Ab illo autem tempore habitata est brÿttania usque in hodiernum diem; Aeneas autem regnavit tribus annis apud latinos? ascanius regnavit annis · xxx · III; Post quem silvius regnavit annis · XII · posthumus annis · ^{bus}xxx · VIII; A quo albanorum reges silvii appellati sunt; Cuius frater erat bruto; Quando vero regnabat bruto in bryttannia? heli sacerdos iudicabat in israhel; Et tunc archa testamenti ab alienigenis possidebatur; Posthumus (vel silvius) autem frater eius? apud latinos regnabat;

Post intervallum vero multorum annorum non minus · DCCC · octigentorum²¹ picti venerunt. et occupaverunt insulas? quae vocatur orcades et postea ex insulis vastaverunt regiones multas. et occupaverunt eas in sinistrali parte bryttanniæ?²² et manent ibi tertiam partem bryttanniæ tenentes²³ usque in hodiernum diem; Novissime²⁴ autem scotti venerunt a partibus hispaniæ ad hiberniam; Primus vero venit partholomus cum mille hominibus viris scilicet et mulieribus? et creverunt usque ad ²⁵III milia hominum; venitque mortalitas super eos? et in una septimana omnes perierunt · ita ut ne unus quidem remaneret ex illis; secundus autem ad hiberniam venit nimech filius cujusdam

qui fertur navigasse super mare annum et dimidium? et postea tenuit portum in hibernia fractis navibus suis? et mansit ibi per multos annos? et iterum navigio cum suis reversus est ad hispaniam; Deinde venerunt tres filii militis hispanie cum xxx cœolis unaquaque ceola²⁵ habentes xxx coniuges? et manserunt ibi per spatium unius anni. et postea apparuit illis vitrea turris²⁶ in medio maris? et quasi homines conspitiebant esse super turrim? Et querentes loqui ad illos numquam respondebant; Et ipsi uno anno ad obpugnationem turris præparaverunt cum suis cœolis omnibus et cum omnis mulieribus. excepta una nave quæ confacta erat naufragio. in qua erant viri xxx totidemque mulieres; Aliæ autem naves navigaverunt ad expugnandam turrim; Et dum omnes descenderent in littore quod erat circa turrim. operuit illos mare. et demersi sunt; Sed de familia illius cœolæ quæ naufragio confacta remanserat tota hibernia impleta est. usque in hodiernum diem; Et postea venerunt paulatim a partibus hispaniæ.²⁷ tenueruntquæ regiones plurimas in bryttania; Novissime venit dam^b hoctor? et ibi habitavit cum omni genere suo; quod superest usque hodie; Istoreth istorini filius cum suis tenuit dalmeta; Builc autem tenuit cum suis euboniam²⁸ insu-

• Sic.

• Legendum quidam.

lam? et alia circiter loca; Filii autem Liethali²⁹ obtinuerunt regionem demætorum? et alias provincias quoher. et cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a cunedæ et a filiis eius ab omnibus regionibus brÿttanicis; Siquis hic scire voluerit quanto tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta hibernia.³⁰ sic mihi periti scottorum nuntiaverunt;

Quando venerunt filii israhel per mare rubrum. illos persecuti sunt egyptii et demersi sunt. ut in lege legitur; Erat autem vir nobilis de Scithia cum magna familia apud egyptios. ante electus (*vel a*) de regno suo. et ibi erat quando ægyptii demersi sunt. et non exivit ad persequendum populum dei; Illi autem qui superfuerant egyptii. facto consilio³¹ eum ne obsideret illorum regionem ab eis expulerunt? quia maiores eorum in rubro mari demersi erant; At ille expulsus. per annos XLII. circuiens per affricam. pervenit cum familia ad aras filistinorum.³² et per lacum salinarum.³³ venerunt inter rusicadam³⁴ et montana syriæ³⁵ et venerunt per flumen malua.³⁶ transieruntque per maritaniam et ad columnas herculi navigaverunt terrenum mare³⁷ et pervenerunt usque ad hispaniam et ibi per annos habitaverunt multos; Et creverunt ac multiplicati sunt; ac illorum gens multiplicati est valde; Postea venerunt ad hiberniam post mille et duos annos³⁸ post quam demersi sunt egyptii in mari rubro. In tempore

quo regnabat brutus apud romanos a quo consules esse cœperunt? deinde tribuni plebis ac dictatores et consules rem publicam obtinuerunt per annos .cccc.XL.VII. quæ prius regia dignitate dampnata fuerat? Brytones in tertia etate mundi ad Brÿttanniam venerunt; scotti autem in quarta obtinuerunt hiberniam; Scotti autem de occidente? et picti de aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra brytones et uno actu indesinenter? quia sine armis brytones commorabantur; Et post multum spatium temporis? Romani monarchiam totius mundi obtinuerunt; A tempore quo primo saxones venerunt in brÿttanniam usque ad annum quartum mermenii³⁵* regis computantur anni .cccc.XXVIII. A nativitate autem domini usque adventum patritii ad scottos .cccc.v. anni fuerunt; a morte vero patritii usque ad obitum sanctæ Brigidæ .XL. anni. et a nativitate columcille. usque ad mortem brigidæ IIII. anni fuerunt.

Aliud experimentum³⁶ didici de isto brutone? ex antiquis libris nostrorum veterum; Tres filii noae diviserunt orbem terræ? in tres partes post diluvium; Sem in asia? cam in africa. Jafeth in europa? et dilataverunt terminos suos; Primus homo venit ad europam alanus cum tribus filiis suis. quorum nomina Hisicion. Armenon. Neugio. Hisicion autem habuit filios IIII. Francum. Romanum. Alamannum. Et

brutonem; Armenon autem habuit filios .v.
Gothum. Valagothum. Cibidum. Burgundum. Longobardum. Neugio vero habuit tres.
Vandalum Saxonem Bogatum. Ab hisicione
autem ortæ sunt IIII. Gentes? Franci. Latini.
Alamanni. Et bryttones? Ab armenione autem
Gothi. Vualagothi. Cibidi. Burgundi. Et
langobardi; A neugio autem. Bogari. Vuandi;
Saxones. Tarincgi; Istæ gentes subdivisæ
sunt per totam europam; Alanus ut aiunt
filius fuit fethuir? Fethuir? filius ogomuin;
Ogomuin? filius thoi? Thoi? filius fuit boibus.
Boibus? filius semion; Semion? filius mair;
Mair? filius fuit ectactus; Ectactus? filius
aurthact; Aurthact? filius ethec; Ethech?
filius ooth; Ooth? filius abir; Abir? filius Ra;
Ra? filius esraa; Esraa? filius hisrau; Hisrau?
filius bath; Bath? filius iobath; Iobat? iohan.
Iohan? filius iafet; Iafet? filius Noe; Noe?
filius lamech; Lamech? filius matusalem; Ma-
tusalem? filius enoch; Enoch? filius iared;
Iared? filius malalehel; Malalehel? filius
cainan; Cainan? filius enos; Enos? filius
seth; Seth? filius adam; Adam? filius et plas-
matio dei vivi.

Hanc peritiam didicimus ex traditione veterum? qui in primordio accolæ fuerunt bryt-
tanniæ; Bryttones a bruto dicti; Brutus? filius
hisicionis; Hisicion? filius alani; Alanus? filius

• Desideratur *filius*.

ræesilveae; Rea silvae? filia numæ pampilii; Numa? filius ascani; Ascanius? filius æneæ; Eneas? filius anchisæ; Anchises? filius troi; Troius? filius dardani; Dardanus? filius Flisæ; Flisa? filius juuini; Iuuin? filius iafeth; Iafeth vero septem filios habuit; Primus gomer? a quo galli; Secundus magog? a quo scithi; et gothi; Tertius madian? a quo medi; Quartus iuuan? a quo greci; Quintus tubal? a quo hebrei, hispani. et itali; Sextus mosoch? a quo cappadoces; Septimus tiras? a quo traces; Hi sunt filii Iafeth. filii noae. filii Lamech;

Romani autem dum acciperent dominum totius mundi? ad brÿttannos miserunt legatos? ut obsides. et censum acciperent ab illis? sicut accipiebant ab universis regionibus? et ab omnibus insulis; Brittanni autem cum essent tiranni et tumidi? legationem romanorum contempserunt;

Tunc iulius cæsar cum accepisset totius orbis singulare imperium. et primus obtineret? Valde iratus ad brÿttanniam cum **LX.** ceolis pervenit in ostio⁷ fluminis tamensis; in quo naufragium naves illius perpessæ sunt? Dum ille pugnaret apud dolo bellum,⁸ qui erat proconsul⁹ brytannici regis qui et ipse rex Belinus vocabatur? et erat minocanni filius· qui occupavit omnes insulas terreni maris; Et iulius reversus est sine victoria; cæsis militibus· fractisque navibus, Et iterum post spatium trium annorum¹⁰ com

magno exercitu et ccc. ceolis per̄venit ad ostium predicti fluminis tamensis? et ibi inierunt bellum; Et ceciderunt de æquis militibusque suis multi? quia supradictus consul posuerat sudes ferreos⁴¹ semenque bellicosum id est cethilou in vada fluminis?⁴² quod discrimen fuit magnum; Ars enim erat latenter constructa? et invisibilis militibus romanorum; Et hac vice sicut prius imperator com suis reversus est? sine victoria vel pace; Tertio igitur commissum est bellum a romanis contra bryttones? juxta locum qui dicitur trinovantum; Et iulus victor imperium bryttanicæ gentis obtinuit ·XL· et VII. annis ante nativitatem Xpi; Ab initio autem mundi ·V·CC·XII· transactis annis? iulus primus⁴³ in brytanniam per̄venit romanorum rex? et regnum et gentem obsedit. et in honorem illius quintilem iuliem mensem romani statuerunt vocari; Siquidem idibus martis. gaius. iulus cæsar in curia⁴⁴ occiditur? tenente octavianio augusto monarchiam totius mundi; Nam et censum a bryttannia ipse solus accepit? ut virgilius ait; Purpurea intexti tollunt aulae bryttanni;⁴⁵

Secundus autem post hunc claudius⁴⁶ imperator venit? et in bryttannia imperavit per ·XLVII. annos post adventum Xpi? et stragam bellumque agens multum non absque detrimento militum iuvehumque suorum. victor fuit

bryttaniæ; Postea navigio ad orcadæ peruenit insulas. et subiecit eas. fecitque tributarias; In tempore illius nullum romanis censum fuit traditum a bryttannia? sed imperatoribus brittanicis redditum est; Regnavit autem annis •xiii. et mensibus. viii? cuius monumentum in moguntia⁴⁷ apud longobardos ostenditur? dum ad romam iret. ibi defunctus est; Post c. et LXVII. annos post adventum Xpi. Lucius⁴⁸ bryttanicus rex. com omnibus regulis totius bryttanicæ gentis baptismum suscepit. missa legatione ab imperatoribus romanorum. et papa romano euaristo; Tertius fuit severus? qui transfretavit ad bryttanos. ubi ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica defenderet. tuitionis murum. et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem bryttaniæ. id est percentena XXXII. milia passum deduxit?⁴⁹ et bryttanno sermone vocatur gaaul; Propterea iussit fieri inter brytones. et pictos. et scottos? quod scotti⁵⁰ ab occidente. et picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra brytones? nam et ipsi pacem inter se habebant; Et post multum tempus? severus intra bryttaniæ eboraci moritur.

Quartus fuit caritius⁵¹ imperator et tirannus? qui et ipse tirannide⁵² in bryttaniæ venit. quia iratus pro occisione severi advenerat? et cum omnibus ducibus romanæ gentis qui erant cum eo. bryttaniæ verberavit? ac omnes regulos.

ducesque bryttonum? et vindicavit in illis severum? et purpuram bryttanniæ devastavit;

Quintus fuit constantius⁵³ constantini magni filius? et defunctus est in brittannia? et sepulchrum illius esse videtur iuxta urbem que vocatur cair segeint? Ut litteræ quæ sunt in lapide tumuli ostendunt; Et ipse seminavit in pavimento supradictæ civitatis tria semina? auri. argenti. aeris. ut nullus unquam in ea pauper maneret. et vocatur alio nomine minmanton;

Sextus maximus⁵⁴ in bryttannia; A tempore illius consules esse cœperunt? et cesares postea nunquam appellati sunt; In tempore etiam illius sanctus martinus virtutibus et miraculis claruit. et cum eo locutus est;

Septimus maximianus imperator regnavit in bryttania; ipse perrexit com omnibus militibus brittonum a bryttannia? et occidit regem romanorum gratianum? et imperium obtinuit totius europæ.⁵⁵ Noluitque dimittere belligeros suos comites brittones? ad uxores suas. et filios. et ad possessiones suas; Sed multas illis largitus regiones. a stagno quod est super verticem montis iovis usque ad civitatem quæ vocatur cant guic? et usque ad tumulum occidentalem? id est cruc occident;⁵⁶ Hi sunt brytones armorici? et illic permanserunt⁵⁷ usque in hodiernum diem. Propter illorum absentiam⁵⁸ brittannia superata est ab alienigenis gentibus. et heredes electi?

usquequo a deo auxilium largiatur; Traditione⁵⁹ vero seniorum didicimus fuisse a romania. VII. imperatores in brittannia? Romani autem novam affirmant;

Octavus fuit alius⁶⁰ severus? hic in brittannia aliquando commorabatur et aliquando romæ manebat? ibique defunctus est.

Nonus fuit constantius?⁶¹ ipse regnavit. XVI. annis in bryttannia, et in XVII. imperii sui anno obiit. quasi dolo voraciter occisus in bryttannia ut aiunt; Ita ut legimus apud brytones regnaverunt romani per. CCCC. VIII. annos;

His ita transactis?⁶² brytones imperium romanorum contempserunt? nec censum dedere. nec illorum reges suscepérunt? neque romani amplius sunt ausi ut ad regnandum bryttanniam adirent. quia duces eorum brytones occiderant; Iterum repetendus est sermo de maximiano tiranno; Gratianus cum fratre valentino regnavit annis septem? ambrosius tunc mediolanensis episcopus clarus habebatur in catholicorum dogmate; Valentinus cum theodosio regnavit. VIII. annis. tempore illo sinodus constantinopolim colligitur CCCL. videlicet patrum? in quo omnes hereses dampnantur; Hieronimus etiam presbiter bethleemitis toto mundo claurit; Dum gratianus imperator regnaret in toto mundo in brittannia per seditionem militum maximus imperator factus est? quem mox in galliam transfretasse perhibent? et gratianum

regem parasis merobaudis magistri militum
proditione superavit et fugiens lugduni captus
adque occisus est; Maximus victorem filium
suum consortem regni fecit; Martinus turo-
nensis episcopus tunc temporis in magnis vir-
tutibus claruit; Post multum vero spatium
temporis a valentino et theodosio consulibus
spoliatus maximus indumentis regiis sistitur et
in capite lapide dampnatur. cuius filius victor
eodem anno ab argubuste comite interfectus est
in gallia peractis ab initio mundi. VDC.XC. ani-
nis; Tribus vicibus occisi sunt duces romanorum
a brytonibus et brytones dum anxieren-
tur a barbarorum gentibus. idest scottorum.
pictorum auxilium romanorum flagitabant;
Et cum legati mittebantur cum magnio luctu
et cum sablonibus super capita sua intrabant
et por magna munera pro admissa occisionis
culpa ducum et accipientes grata dona con-
sules ab illis promittebant iurando accipere
iugum romanici imperii licet durum esset; et
romani cum magno exercitu ad auxilium vene-
runt brytonum constitueruntque duces et im-
peratorem in bryttannia. et composito impera-
tore cum ducibus revertebatur exercitus ad ro-
mam et sic alternatim per CCCC XLIII annos
agebant;

Brytones autem propter gravitatem imperii
occidebant duces romanorum et auxilium

Legendum portabant.

postea petebant ab eis ; Romani etiam ad imperium auxiliumque et vindictam proximorum veniebant ; et spoliata bryttannia auro argentoque atque aere. Omnique pretiosa veste, melle, et muneribus com magno triumpho revertabantur ; Factum est autem post supradictum bellum quod fuit inter brittones et romanos quando duces eorum occisi sunt. et victoriam maximiani qui gratianum occidit transactoque romanorum imperio a bryttannia per XL annos fuerunt sub metu ;

Gurthegirnus⁶³ autem regnabat in bryttannia ; sed in tempore⁶⁴ illius bryttones arguebantur a metu scottorum pictorumque et a romanico impetu. nec et a timore ambrosii ;

⁶⁵ Interea tres ceolæ⁶⁶ a germania in⁶⁷ exilium expulsæ⁶⁸ bryttanniam advenerunt⁶⁹ in quibus dominabantur hors et henegest⁷⁰ qui et ipsi fratres erant filii ginctglis. Guictglis. filius guicta ; Guicta. filius guechta ; Guechta filius vuoden ; Vuoden⁷¹ filius frealof ; Frealof⁷² filius fredulf ; Fredulf⁷³ filius finn ; Finn filius foleguald ; Foleguald ; filius geta⁷⁴ qui ut aiunt filius fuit dei non veri⁷⁵ Nec omnipotentis dei et domini nostri ihu Xpi⁷⁶ qui ante tempora seculorum permanens patri et spiritui sancto coæternus et consubstantialis⁷⁷ in fine seculorum mortalitatis nostre formam non dignatus est induere servilem⁷⁸ Sed alicuius ex idolis eorum . quem ab ipso demone cæcati . more gentili pro deo

colebant; Gurthegirus autem suscepit eos benignus et tradidit eis⁷¹ insulam quae lingua eorum vocatur tenet britannice roihin. Regnante gratiano⁷² equantio Romæ; Saxones vero a gurthergirno suscepti sunt⁷³ anno CCOC XLVII post passionem Xpi. A tempore⁷⁴ quo adveniunt primo ad bryttanniam saxones usque ad primum imperii anni regis eius ad mundi⁷⁵ DXLII. ad hunc in quo nos scribimus annos traditione seniorum⁷⁶ DXLVII didicimus⁷⁷ quippe quia iste imperii quintus ante dicti regis est annus;

In tempore illo⁷⁸ venit santus germanus ad praedicandum in bryttannia; et apud illos multis claruit virtutibus. et multi per eum salvi facti sunt. et plurimi perierunt: Miracula pauca ex multis quae per illum fecit deus⁷⁹ scribere decrevi,⁸⁰ Primum ergo miraculum declarandum est⁸¹ quod vir quidam erat rex⁸² iniquus atque tirannus cui nomen belinus; Audiens autem vir sanctus iniquitatem eius⁸³ properare disposuit⁸⁴ ut visitaret iniquum regem. et praedicaret illi; At cum ipse vir dei cum omnibus suis venisset ad portam urbis· hostiarius civitatis obviavit et salutavit eos⁸⁵ qui miserunt eum ad regem; Rex autem iniquus dure respondens⁸⁶ ait cum iuramento; Etiamsi per istius anni spatium permaneant. iuxta portam civitatis meæ⁸⁷ intro non invenient; Illis autem responsum expectantibus⁸⁸ declinavit ad ves-

⁷¹ Uno verbo exprimenda, nempe eadmundi.

rum. nesciebantque quo irent. Interea venit unus de servis regis de medio urbis? et inclinavit se ante virum dei nunciavitque eis omnia verba tyranni et invitavit eos ad domum suam exieruntque cum eo et benigne eos suscepit; Nihil tamen habebat de omnibus iumentorum generibus? præter unam vaccam cum vitulo. Ille autem hospitalitatis gratia vitulum mactavit et coxit? posuitque ante illos;

Sanctus autem germanus præcepit sotii suis ut nullum os frangerent de ossibus vituli; sequenti autem facto mane diei? inventus est vitulus ante stans matrem suam. eius. sanus. et incolumis; Primo igitur mane eiusdem diei iterum adierunt portam civitatis? ut salutationem impetrarent iniqui regis; Cum autem orando expectarent iuxta portam urbis; ecce vir unus occurrebat. cuius sudor a vertice capitis usque ad plantas pedum distillabat? inclinavitque se ante illos; At sanctus germanus ait; Credis?" in sanctam trinitatem? ille vero respondit; Credo; Baptizavitque eum et osculatus est; Et dixit ei; Vade in pace? in ista enim hora morieris. et angeli dei in aere expectant te? ut cum illis gradiaris ad deum. cui credidisti; Ipse autem letus urbem intravit obviahsque præfactus tenuit illum; et obprimens alligavit? præsentatusque est conspectu tyranni? cuius sententia protinus interfactus est; Hic autem mos erat apud nequissimum

regem? ut quisquis ad servitutem ante solis
 ortum non conveniret? continuo in arce decol-
 laretur; Sanctus vero germanus cum suis iuxta
 portam urbis tota die prestolabatur? nec tam
 impetrare potuerunt.. ut salutarent ~~tyrannum~~?
 Sed solito more supradictus adfuit servus; et
 dixit illi sanctus germanus; Cave? et nullus
 de tuis hominibus in ista nocte remaneat in hac
 arce; Ipse vero celerius urbem ingrediens?
 eduxit novem filios suos.. et ipsi cum eo ad su-
 pradicatum hospitium reversi sunt; Et praecipit
 illis ut ieiuni manerent? clausisque ianuis dixit;
 Vigilantes estote? et si quid evenierit in arce,
 nolite conspicere? sed indesinenter orate.. et
 ad deum verum clamate; Igitur post modicum
 noctis intervalum? ignis cecidit de caelo; et
 urbem combussit.. omnesque homines qui cura
 tyranno erant; Ita ut ne unus quidem ex eis
 remaneret.. et arx illa non est aedificata usque
 in hodiernum diem; Crastino autem die vir ille
 qui hospitalis fuit creditur Germano praedicante
 et baptizatus est cum omnibus filiis suis.. et cum
 omnibus in illa regione habitantibus; ⁷⁸ Erat et
 illi nomen catel (vel cadel); Benedixitque eum
 sanctus Germanus et addit dicens; Rex non
 deficiet de semine tuo usque in sempiternum?
 ipse est catel (vel cadel) drunluc? et tu ipse
 rex eris ab hodierna die omnibus diebus vita
 tuae; Sicque impleta est psalmigrafi prophetia
 dicentis; Suscitans de pulvere egenum? et de

stercore elevans pauperem; At iuxta verbum sancti Germani⁷ rex de servo factus est. omnesque filii eius reges facti sunt. et⁷⁹ a semine illorum omnis regio pauorisorum (vel pausorum) usque in diem regitur hodiernum;

Factum est autem postquam morati sunt saxones in supradicta insula Taenet⁸ promisit rex supradictus gurthegirnus dare illis victimum et vestimentum absque defectione pro eo quod sese promiserant viriliter contra inimicos eius pugnaturos;⁸⁰ Cum autem barbari multiplicati essent numero⁹ non potuerunt brytones cibare illos. cum solito more cibum vestemque sibi dari postularent ut eis antea fuerat promissum; Dixeruntque brytones; Numerus vester multiplicatus est⁹ adiutorio vestro non indigemus. recedite a nobis. victimum vel vestitum nobis dare nolumus; et ipsi consilium inter se fatientes⁹ quærebant qualiter pacem rumperent;

Henegistus autem cum esset vir astutus et calidus. explorassetque regem indoctum ac gentem vagitatem. et sine armis cominorantem; initio consilio dixit ad regem gurthegirnum: Pauci sumus⁹ si vis mittemus ad patriam nostram⁹ et invitamus milites de regione nostra ut amplior sit numerus. ad certandum prote et pro gente tua; Et impetrata a rege licentia; miserant legatos; Qui transfretantes scithiam⁹ yeperunt ad patriam suam⁹ electisque inde militibus ac viris bellicosis reversi sunt cum

xvi. cæolis ^{et} adducentes secum filiam henegistū pulchram valde, decoraque fæte; Reversisque Nuntiis henegistus convivium regi gurthergirno militibusque suis. et interpreti suo nomine ^{et} ceretic præparavit ac puellam filiam suam iussit illis ministrare vitrumque et siceram ubertim propinare. quatenus satararentur: himisque inebriarentur; Sed illis bibentibus et valde inebriatis? diabolo instigante. gurthergirus amore inardescens pueræ per interprætem suum illam postulavit a patre suo? proximis sitque ei dicens; Quicquid postulaveris pro ea a me? Voluntarie tibi præstabo; Henegistus autem inito consilio cum senioribus comitibus suis qui secum venefant^{et} de genere oengal^{vel tingle} petit pro puella provintiam^{et} quae vocatur anglie centland: brÿttannice autem dicit; Et data est illis ipsa provintia? ignorante guthorahogono. qui tunc temporis ragenavit in cantia; Quem quidem dolor minus exagitabat? quia regnum suum clam deloseque et imprudenter alienigenis datum est; Sic tamen puella regi tradita est dormivitque cum ea et ultra modum amavit; Henegistus autem pater puellæ? gurthergirno regi dixit; Ego ero pater et conciliator tuus? cave ne transgrediaris consilium meum. quia nunquam ab alio homine vel illa gente superari timebis? quoniam gemina valida est ad bellandumque robusta; Si vis mittam filium meum cum fratrele suo qui

sunt viri bellatores: invitans eos ut dimicent contra scotos:¹⁷ et da illis regiones quae sunt in aquilone iuxta murum qui vocatur gual; Licentia autem improvidi regia invitavit eos: ochta videlicet et ebissa cum XL. ceolis;

At vero ipsi cum navigarent circa pictos vastaverunt orcadess insulas: et occupaverunt regiones plurimas usque ad confinium pictorum. Henegistus autem invitabat paulatim ceolas sive regionis ad se: ita ut insulas aliquas venerant¹⁸ absque habitatore relinquerent; At dam gens illorum crevisset in virtute et in multitudine: venerant ad supradictam regionem cantuariorum;¹⁹ At super omnia mala aditiena guorthegirus accepit sibi filiam suam uxorem: que peperit filium;²⁰ Hoc itaque cum compertum esset sancto Germano: venit corripere eum cum omni clero brythonum; Dumque congregatio magna sinodi clericorum laicorumque esset una in consilio:

Rex stolidissimus premonuit filiam suam: ut acciret ad sinodum: et daret filium suum in sinu sancti Germani: diceretque coram omnibus quod ipse pater esset infantis; Mulier vero impudica fecit: sicut prius erat edocta: suscepitque infantulum sanctus Germanus et dixit; Pater tibi ero nate: nec te dimittam donec mihi novacula cum forcipe pectineque detur: et tibi dicat hanc patri tuo carnali dare; Si quis

Desideratur aliquid: et forte supplendum in qua-

factum est? et infans sancto obedivit Germano? perrexitque ad avum suum patrem scilicet carnalem guortheginum: et dixit illi puer; [¶] Pater meus es? caput meum tondi? Et comam capitis mei; Et illi erubescens sicut? et infantula responderet noluit. sed surgens iratus est valde? a fatieque Germani fagiens. maledictus ac dampnatus est a sancto. et ab omni sinodali conventu; Postea vero invitatis ad se. XII. magis. quid ageret ad eis percunctatus est; At illi dixerunt; [¶] Ad extremas fines regni tui vade? et urbem aedificam. ubi se defendere possis; Quia gens quam suscepisti in regno tuo tibi insidiatur? et cogitat te dolo superare. universaque regiones. quae nunc tuæ subiacent dicioni iuvente molitur devastare? quanto magis cum mortuis fueris; Placuitque regi magorum consilium exigitque cum idem ipsis magis. multas regiones multasque circumiens provincias? si forte alicubi ad arcem aedificandam aptum locum inveniret; Illis vero longe lateque proficisci entibus. et minime locum congruum invenientibus? tandem pervenerunt ad quandam provinciam quæ guenet vocatur. [¶] et cum lustrarent montana heremi. repperiunt in vallis sumitate montis locum congruum. ad ardorem constreuerandam; Dixeruntque magi ad regem; Urbem tibi hic aedifica? qui tutissima erit a barbaris in æternum; Rex autem congregavit artifices lignarios lapidariosque. et omnia neces-

saria ad operis materiam? ut arcem erigeret; Congregata vero, innumerabili materiæ? omnia una nocte ablata atque dispersa sunt. itaut nihil remaneret sumptuum? ad arcem compo-nendam; Sioque secundo et tertio collectis undique materiebus rursus omnia ad nihilum redacta evanuerunt; erectoque ædificio præcipitium patuit? et nullum valebat obtinere spatum; At ille accersitis ad se magis percunctatus est eos? quæ esset hæc causa militiæ? aut unde tanti laboris inutile proveniret dispensatum; Illi autem respondentes dixerunt; ²⁵ Nisi inveneris infantem sine patre? et nisi occidatur, et arx tua a sanguine eius aspergatur. non ædificabitur in æternum; Magis vero tale ðæmibus consilium? rex legatos per totam insulam bryttanniam, ut quererent utrum infantem sine patre uspiam invenire possunt; Qui omnes provintias et regiones bryttaniæ perlustrantes, pervenerunt ad ²⁶ campum aelecti (vel elleti) qui est in pago (vel regione) quæ gleues-ing: ubi pueri pilæ ludum agebant; Et ecce duæ inter se litigantes? alter alteri dicebat; O homo sine patre? (vel ve tibi) bonum tibi non eveniat; At illi ab aliis pueris et a matre de puerō illo diligenter percunctati sunt? si patrem haberet; Mater vero illius pueri? negavit dicens; Nescio quomodo in utero meo conceptus est? unum tamen scio quia virum in coitu nunquam cognovi; Sicque iurejurando affirmavit?

quod filius eius patrem non haberet carnalem; Duxerunt igitur puerum secum ad geortheginum regem dominum suum? insinuaveruntque regi omnia quae de illo didicerant; erastino autem die conventio facta est? ut puer interficeretur; Puer vero ait ad regem; Cur famuli tui me adduxerunt ad te? Respondit ei rex; Ut interficiaris; et tuo sanguine arx ista aspergatur. ut postmodum possit aedificari; Puer autem ad regem; Quis te docuit ut illud fatias? Respondit rex. Magi isti? sic mihi praedixerunt; At haec puer; Iube? ut ad me vocentur; Inuitatis magis? puer eos alloquitur; Quomodo vobis revelatum est ut aedificium urbis istius sanguine meo aspergatur? et quod nunquam aedificetur? nisi sanguine meo prius fuerit aspersa? Nunc cognoscere a vobis palam cupio? quis me vobis revelavit; Rursusque puer ad regem; modo tibi rex in veritate omnia enucleando narrabo; Sed a magis tuis interrogando scire volo? quid soit? in pavimento loci istius; Etenim congruum mihi videtur? ut tibi ostendant quid sub pavimento habeatur; At illi respondentes dixerunt; Nescimus; At ille; Stagnum in medio pavimenti est? venite et fodite? quia sic invenietis; Venerunt atque foderunt? stagnumque invenerunt; Iterum puer magos interrogans ait; Revelate nobis? quid sit in stagno; At illi silentes et erubescen-

Sic.

te, revelare non potuerunt; Puer autem ait;
 Ego possum vobis revelare; Duo vasa sunt,
 ipso tibi non clusa in Stagno; Veneruntur et pro-
 baveruntur; et ita inveneruntur; Interrogansque
 magos puer ait; Quid in vasis conclusis habetur?
 At illi tacentes res pondere non valebant;
 Puer inquit; Tentorium est in eis; Separate
 ea ab invicem? et sic invenietis; Iussu autem
 regis separata sunt vasa inventumque est in eis
 tentorium complicatum. sicut puer prius pre-
 dixerat; More solito puer magos interrogat;
 Quid in tentorio circumvolvitur? Illi vero
 neque hoc solvere potuerunt; Rursumque
 puer; Vermes inquit duo sunt in eo? unus
 albus, et alter rufus; Tentorio siquidem
 explicato? duo vermes ut predixerat dormientes
 inventi sunt; Adiecitque puer; Expectate? et
 considerate quid fatiant vermes; Illis autem
 expectantibus alternatim cæperunt inter se col-
 lactare vermes; Albus vero humeros subponens
 rufum deiecit usque medium tentorii aliquan-
 do autem usque marginem tentorii expulit;
 sicque tribus vicibus certantes agebant; At ul-
 timum tamen vermis rufus qui infirmior videba-
 tur recuperando virtutem suam album proiecitur
 et extra tentorium repulit. et trans stagnum
 rupho album subsequente evanuit albus; Puer
 autem magos interrogans ait; Quid significat
 hoc mirabile pressagium quod vidistis? At illi
 dixerunt; Nescimus; puer vero ait regi; En-

vobis misterium quod revelatum emuleando certius exponam; Stagnum figura hujus mundi est; Tentorium regni tui videtur habere figuram; Duo vermes duo dracones sunt; Vermis autem rufus draco tuus est; albiss vero vermis draco est gentis illius quae occupat gentes plurimas. et regiones in bryttannia et per a mari usque ad mare tenebit; Sed tamen ad ultimum gens nostra consurget et illam saxonum destruet gentem, deficitque ab hac insula trans mare unde antea venerantur. Tu vero de ista arce unde quam edificare non petes; Ego autem hic manebo quia mihi sicut haec mansio tradita est; Ad alias provincias perge ubi possis tibi arcem edificare; Rex autem adolescenti ait; Quod nomen tibi est? Ille respondit; Ambrosius vocor quod bryttanice embreagletac; Rursumque rex; De qua progenis ortus es? Qui respondit; Unus de consulibus romanorum pater meus est; At vero rex dimisit illi urbem illam cum omnibus circiter provincias occidentalis plague bryttanicae; Et rex ipse cum¹⁰⁰ magis suis perrexit ad sinistram plagam bryttanicae; et pervenit usque ad regionem quae vocatur gueneri et urbem ibi edificavit quae suo nomine cair guorthegira appellatur;

Igitur¹⁰¹ guorthemer filius Guorthegirni contra hengestum et harsuna gentesque illorum petulanter pugnabat et eos usque ad supra

dibuum insulam tenet expulit: sisque tribus
vicibus ibi conclusit: absedit occidens: commi-
nuit: atterens; Et ipsi legatos ultra mare ad
germaniam transmittebant: ad classem augen-
dam: ceolusque provocandas: cum ingenti mo-
mero virorum belatorum; Atque his ita congre-
gatis pugnabant contra reges et principes bryt-
tanicae gentis: et aliquando dilatabant vincen-
do terminos suos: aliquando autem vincebantur:
et expellebantur;¹⁰² Guorthemer autem quater
contra illos bellum viriliter segit: primum ut
supra dictum est: secundum super flumen der-
guant bellum fecit: tertiam super vadum quod
lingua coreana episcoporum vocatur: in nostra autem
lingua set thergabail: et ibi cecidit horsus et
filius guorthegirni nomine catigiri in pugna bel-
lantes: Quartum vero bellum iuxta lapidem
qui super ripam maris gallici est contra saxones
segit: et¹⁰³ victoriam optiminuit: saxones vero
fugerunt usque ad naves suas: Ipse autem post
modicum intervalum mortuus est: et ante obi-
tum suum futuræ rei casum advertens dixit ad
familiam suam: Sepelite in portu ostia introitus
saxonum corpus meum: id est super ripam maris a quo
primum venerunt: quia quamvis in
aliis partibus brytanicae habitaverint: tamen in
ista si sic facitis numquam in eternum impie-
bant;¹⁰⁴ Illi autem imprudentur mandatum
illius contempnentes: eusa in loco ubi postu-

laverat non sepeierunt; ¹⁰⁵ Barbari vero per hoc magnopere congregati sunt: et transmarinis paginis auxiliabantur: maxime quod guorthe- girus illis esset amicus propter filiam henecesti quam accepit in uxorem. atque adeo diligebat ut nullus auderet contra illos pugnare: qia blande deliniebant regem imprudentem: vipe- rino tamen conde dolum agentes;. Et hoc qui legit intelligat: Quod non virtute dominantur bryttaniam: sed propter peccata maxima bryt- tonum. deo sic permittente: Quis autem sanum sepiens contra dei voluntatam resistere nittitur. Sed quonodo volvit deus fecit: quia ipse est rex regum, et dominus dominantium. omnia desuper iudicans atque gubernans.

Factum est autem post mortem guortheri filii regis guortheigrai henecesto confortato et ad se multis iterum navibus congregatis: cum senioribus etia dolim guortheigro regi et suo exercitu preparavit: Mittenque ad regem legatos: dolose pacem inter se formari depre- batur: ut perpetua amicitia inter se uterentur: Rex autem inscas deli: cum senioribus suis consilatus est pacem cum henecesto habere: et discordium belorum rennuere: Legati vero revertentes: id ipsum renuntiaverunt henece- sto: Henecestus postmodum grande preparans convivium regi guortheigmo et senioribus mil- tibus eius. ^{trecentis} ecc: convocavit regem omnemque

familiam eius ad firmandam pacem; Latente
igitur sub spacie pacis dolosa machinatione;
hencgestus exuis totidem elegit. idest. ccc.
milites? initoque cum eis consilio predixit eis
ut unusquisque ortavum suum in fagine sub
pede suo poneret? et milites regis ad convivium
venientes inter se cummiserent? illosque sol-
lerti cura inebriarent? Et cum clamavero in
quid ad nos et dixero nimader sexa? cultellos
vestros ex fieonibus seducite et in illos irruite?
et unusquisque propiorem sibi iugulet; Verum-
tamen regem custodite? et nolite eum inter-
ficere. sed pro conubio filiae meae quam amat
eum servate; Melius enim est ut a nobis redi-
matur? quam ut occidatur; Rex autem ad
convivium cum suis sotii venit; ut pactum
quod sibi invicem servare promiserant cercius
firmarent; At venientibus vero cum rege suo
brytonibus. saxones pacifice loquentes. do-
lumque in corde versantes convivis suis iudaice
more clam præparabant mortem; At insciij ma-
lorum brytones mixti saxonibus? vir ad ini-
micum sederunt; Illis autem nimis æpulantibus
et bibentibus et ultra modum inebriatis; Henc-
gentus ut prius suis prædixerat comitibus? æle-
vata voce subito vociferatus est? Nimader
sexा; At cuius vocem saxones protinus exur-
gentes suosque extrahentes cultellos. irruerunt
super brytones unusquisque super consessorem

euum. et de senioribus guorthegeirni regis ccc.
sunt iugulati? Rex autem captivitati subditus
est; Pro sua siquidem liberatione tradidit illis
rex tres provintias? etiam seaxan. suder seaxan.
Middel seaxan. cum reliquis regiomibus quas
ipsi eligentes nominaverunt;

¹⁰ Sanctus vero Germanus regi guorthegeirno
praedicabat? ut at deum verum se converteret.
et ab illicita propriæ filiae commixtione alienum
se faceret; At ille usque ad provintiam quæ a
suo nomine gurthegoirnaim nomen accépit:
heu miser aufugit? ut ibi cum suis lateret ux-
oribus; Secutusque eum est sanctus Germanus
eum omni clero bryttonum. et ibi XL diebus et
noctibus manens. pro suis delictis supra petram
orabat; Iste beatissimus vir dux belli contra
saxones una voce factus; non tubarum clangore.
sed ad dominum orando ¹¹ cum cantu
psalmorum alleluia; totusque exercitus ad deum
vocierando. hostes in fugam usque mare con-
vertit; Et iterum guorthegeirnus usque ad régi-
num demetorum ubi ædificavit arcem suo no-
minatam nomine cair guorthegeirn iuxta flumen
tebi a fatie sancti Germani ignominiose reces-
sit? et solito more eum sanctus subsecutus est;
Et ibi iejunus cum omni ordine clericorum sibi
adherentium tribus diebus totidemque noctibus
dominum deprecans mansit; Tertia autem nocte
quasi hora noctis tertia? ignis de celo cecidit. et
arx tota ex improviso ardente igne cælesti com-

busta est; Nec non guorthegirus cum filia
hengesti curaque aliis uxoribus et cunctis cura-
co habitantibus viris ac mulieribus miserabiliter
deficit; Sic improvidi regis guorthegirni finem.
legendo librum vitae sancti Germani repperi-
mus. Alii autem proferunt quod ille exosus
omni populo bryttannico propter susceptionem
populi saxonici idque scalus maioribus com-
omni ordine vulgi sanctoque Germano et
omnibus clericis in conspectu domini accusa-
tibus ac defentibus vagia et errans quarens
que locum refugii fugam iniit. et per eius eva-
muit sicque defunctus est non cum lande; Alii
vero narrunt quod terra aperta est et deglutivit
eum in supra dicta nocte in qua combusta est
arbo illius quia nulla sunt inventa ossa vel re-
liquiae eius. aut eorum quos ignis devoravit
eum illo in arce; ¹⁰⁸ Tres filios habuit qui
nomina sunt guorthemer qui quater sicut
superius scripti saxonum pugnando in fugam ver-
tit. Secundus cathegirn qui occidens est quan-
de horum in pugna occiderunt; Tertius pas-
cent qui regnavit in duabus provinciis. Buelt
et guorthegirniam post mortem patris sui illi
largiente ambrosio (vel ambrosio) qui fuit rex
magnum inter reges brittanice; Quartus fuit frus-
tus qui a filia illi genitus est quem sanctus
Germanus baptizavit enutritivit et docuit et
redicato monasterio non parvo super ripam flu-
minis nomine renis sibi consecravit ibique per-

severat usque in hodiernum diem. et¹⁰⁹ uter
filiam habuit. quae mater fuit sapoti faustini.¹¹⁰
Hec est genealogia illius quae a nobis ad initium
retrocurit. fernmail qui regnavit in regione
guortheigirnaim filius tudor; Tudor filius pa-
cent; Pascent filius guoidcant; Guoidcant
filius moriud; Moriud filius ettat; Ettagus si-
nus eldoc; Eldoch filius pauli; Paul filius me-
prit; Meuprit filius briacat; Briacat filius
pascent; Pascent filius guortheigirn; Guor-
theigirn filius guortheneu; Guortheneu filius
guitant; Guitant filius gmitokion; Guito-
kion filius glouinda; Glouinda filius paulme-
rion¹¹¹ ipse autem glouinda edificavit urbem mag-
ham super ripam fluminis saltriae quae vocatur
brytannico sermone cair gloui. saxonice autem
gleuonster; De guortheigirno nunc satis est;
Sanctus vero Germanus post mortem guorthe-
girni¹¹² reversus est ad patriam suam;

IN TALO TEMPORE. Sakones invalescebant
in multitudine magna et crescebant in bryt-
annia;¹¹³ Mortuo hengesto¹¹⁴ ochta filius eius
advenit de sinistrali parte brytannica ad regnum
eantiorum¹¹⁵ et de ipso omnes reges carib-
piorum usque in odiernum diem;

Tunc belliger arthur cum militibus bryt-
annicis atque regibus contra illos pugnabat;
Et hec multi ipso nobiliores essent;¹¹⁶ ipse
tamen duodecies dux belli fuit. victorque heb-

* Forte, aliquid desideratur.

lorum; Primum bellum contra illos ianit anna
 hóstium fluminis quod dicitur glein. Secundum^{ii.}
 et tertium^{iii.} quartumque^{iv.} ac^{v.} quintum super
 aliam amnem quae nominatur britannicæ du-
 glas, quæ est in regione linnuis; Sextum bellum^{vi.}
 super flumen quod vocatur lusas; Septimum^{vii.}
 contra illos ianit bellum in silva celidonis^{viii.} quæ
 bryttanicæ eacoit celidan nominatur; Octavum^{ix.}
 contra barbaros regit bellum iuxta castellum
 guinnion^{x.} in quo idem arthur portavit imagi-
 neum sanctæ mariae dei genitricis semperque
 virginis super humeris suis^{xii.} et tota illa die
 sexones per virtutem domini nostri ihu Xpi. at
 sancte MARIAZ matris eius in fugam versi sunt;
 et magna eede multi ex eis perierunt; Nonum
 regit bellum in urbe leogis^{xiii.} quæ bryttanicæ
 cair lion dicitur; Decimum vero gessit bellum in
 littore fluminis^{xv.} quod nos vocamus træ,
 treuroit; Undecimum in monte qui nominatur
 breguoin^{xvi.} ubi illos in fugam vertit^{xvii.} quem nos
 est bregion appellamus; Duodecimum contra
 saxones durissime arthur bellum in monte ba-
 donis penetravit^{xviii.} in quo corruerunt impetu
 illius una pccc. xl. viri^{xix.} nullo sibi brittonum
 in adiutorium adherente. preter ipsum solum.
 domino se confortante; In omnibus autem su-
 pradicatis bellis protestantur semper eum fuisse

victores? sicut faerunt et ab aliis per plures militarii brittones; Sed nulla fortitudo vel consilium contra dei voluntatem; Quanto magis vero saxones prosternebantur in bellis? tanto magis a germania et ab aliis augebantur saxonibus sine intermissione? adque reges et duces cum multis militibus ab omnibus pepe proviatiis ad se invitabant; Et hoc agerant usque ad tempus quo¹¹⁴ ida regnavit? qui filius fuit eobda? ipse primus rex fuit in bernech. et in cair afrauc de genere saxonum; Quando gratianus sequantius consul fuit in româ. quia tunc a consulibus romanorum totus orbis regebatur? saxones a guorthebirno anno post domini passionem. CCCC:X L. VII. suscepti sunt; Ad hunc¹¹⁵ quem. nunc scribimus annum. DXLVII. numeramus; Et. quicumque, hoc legerit? in melius augeatur? Prestante domino nostro ihu Xpo. qui cum coæterno patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per infinita secula seculorum amen N;

IN ILLO TEMPORE.¹¹⁶ Sanctus patritius erat apud scottos? et dominas illius nominabatur milchu, et porcarius cum illo fuit VII. annis. In X.VII. autem anno etatis suæ reversus est de captivitate domino liberante? et nutu dei eruditus est in sacris scripturis. et postea romanum petiit et longo tempore illic mansit legendo. et sacra misteria sanctamque scripturam legit spir-

ritu sancto reptente; Nam cum esset ibi in sta-
dio lectionis missus est palladius episcopus
primus a celestino papa romano ad scotos
Npo convertendos; sed per quasdam tempe-
tates et signa illum d̄eūs prohibuit? quia nemo
potest quicquam accipere in terra nisi fuerit
datum désuper? et illa palladius rediens de hi-
bernia ad britanniam ibi defunctus est in
terra pictorum; Conscia autem morte palladii
episcopi romanis patriciis theodotio et valen-
tino regnantibus a celestino papa romano et
angelo dei comitante monente atque adiuante
victore et a germano episcopo ad scotos ad
fidei sanctae trinitatis convertandos patritius
missus est; Misit ergo germanus seniorem cum
ille segerum ad quen grandeum laudandum
que senem episcopum et ad regem matheum
nomine in proquinquo commorantem ibique
santus patricius quae ventura illi erant prae-
scius episcopalem gradum amatheo rege ponti-
ficeque sancto accepit. Et illud ¹¹ Nomen
patricius in ordinatu sumpsit? quia antea
mauum vocabatur; Auxilius vero et iserninus
aliique fratres gradibus inferioribus simul ordi-
nati sunt cum eo; Tunc acceptis benedictioni-
bus perfectisque omnibus in nomine sanctae
trinitatis pervenit ad mare quod est inter gallos
et brytones; Inde prompto navigio descendit
in bryttanniam et in ea prædicavit aliquo
tempore; Praeparatis autem sibi necessariis?

angelo commonente ibernicum mare petiit; Im-
pleta vero nave transmarinis muneribus et spi-
ritualibus thesauris. dei largitu pervenit ad hi-
berniam. et eis prædicavit? illosque bapti-
zavit; A mundi siquid principio usque ad
baptismum hibernensium ·v·ccc·xxx. anni
fuerunt; In quinto anno imperii logiore regis
hiberniae? prius prædicatio vere fidei trinitatis
almæ · unitatisque individuae? hibernensibus
advenit; Sanctus autem patricius extraneis na-
tionibus evangelium Xpi per annos xl. prædi-
cavit? virtutes apostolicas fecit. cecos illumi-
navit leprosos mundavit. surdos audire fecit.
demones ab obsecris corporibus eiecit. Novem
mortuos suscitavit? captivos multos utriusque
sexus suis propriis muneribus redemit. et in
nomine sanctæ trinitatis liberavit? canonices
aliis (scilicet libris) ad fidem catholicam per-
tinentibus libros scripsit ·ccc·lxv ecclesias
quoque eodem numero ccc·lxii. fundavit?
servos dei docuit· et ad episcopalem gradum
spiritu sancta affirmante tali numero consecra-
vit idest ·ccc·lxv; Presbiteros autem admo-
dum tria milia ordinavit· et ·xii· milia homi-
num in una regione cunnehcta ad fidem Xpi-
anam convertit et baptizavit; Et vii. reges
qui fuerunt vii. filii amolgith? in una die bap-
tizavit;¹¹⁸ Quadraginta diebus et xl. noctibus

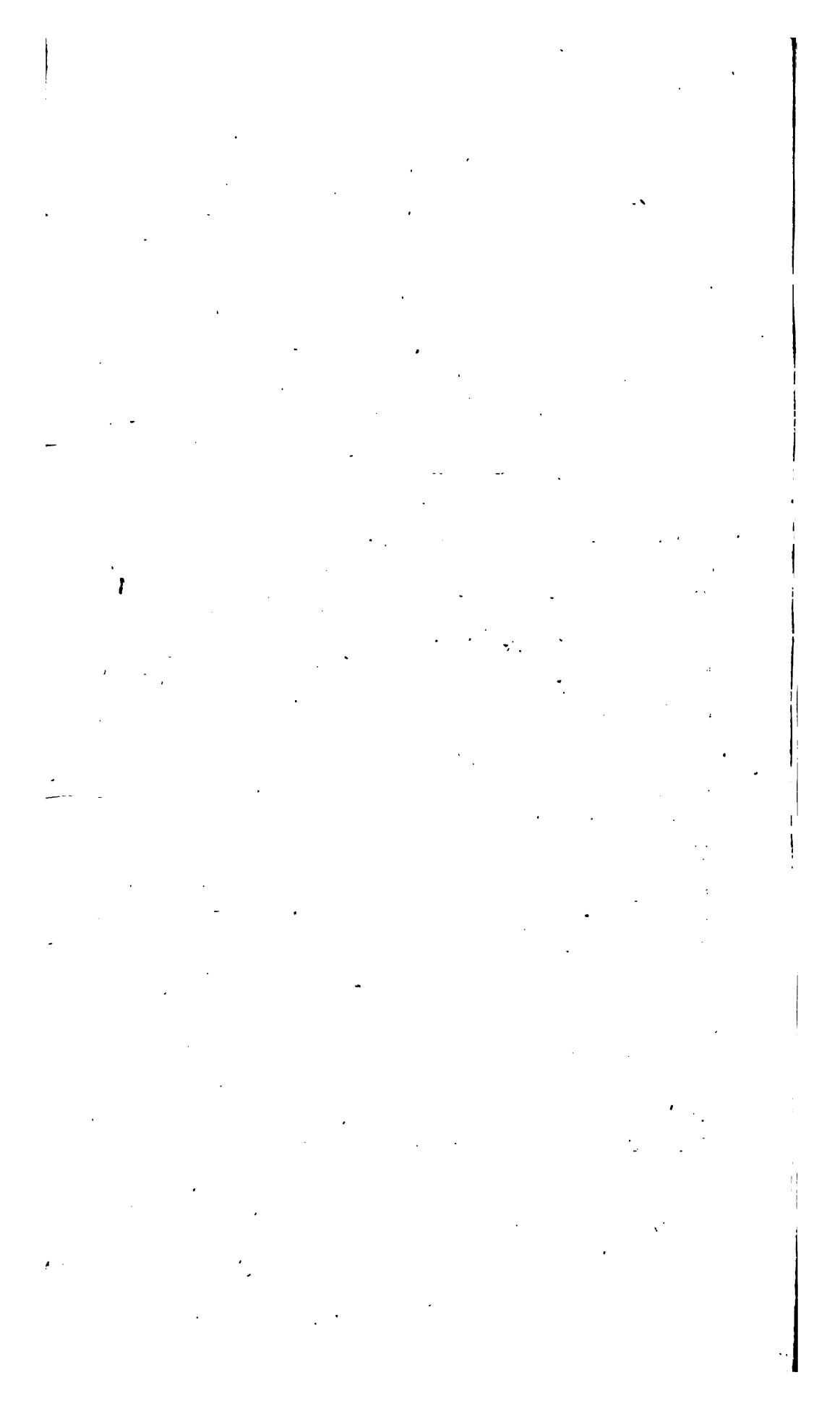
Legendum siquidem.

in cacumine montis est ieunavit? idest crucchangli; in quo monte tres petitiones pro his hibernensibus qui fidem receperunt clementer a deo postulavit; Prima petitio eius fuit ut scotti affirmant? ut unusquisque plebis creditibilis ad dominum per illum penitentiam peccatorum recipiat? licet in extremo vitae sue statu, Secunda autem? ut numquam consumeretur a barbaris; Tertia vero ut superetrogetur aquis VII. annis ante adventum domini. quo venturus est judicare vivos ac mortuos? ut pro oratione sancti patricii crimina populi abluantur. et animæ ante indicium purgentur; De illo supercilie montis populos hibernæ dixit? et ideo ascendit. ut oraret pro eis? et ut licentia dei videret fructus laboris sui; Et venerunt ad illum aves coloris multi valde innumerabiles? ut benediceret eis. quæ significabant omnes sanctos utriusque sexus pervenire ad eum in die iuditii de genere hibernensium? quasi ad patrem et apostolum suum. ut illum ad iuditium. ante tribunal Xpi sequantur; Ipse autem sanctus patricius post magnum laborem. postque magnas virtutes et innumerabilia bona migravit ad dominum de hoc mundo. vitam in melius convertens in senectute bona et perfecta? ubi semper cum sanctis et electis dei gaudet. in secula seculorum amen;

Quatuor modis coæquantur moyses et patricius; uno modo angelo illi colloquente in rubro

ignes; Alio modo in monte XL. diebus et XI.
noctibus ieiunando; Tertio modo quod similes
fuerunt estate CXX. annorum; Quartio modo?
quod sepulchrum illius nemo scit? sed in oo-
culto humatus est. nemine sciente; Sedecim
annis in captivitate fuit? in vicesimo quinto
anno a matheo rege episcopus subrogatur;
~~lxxxv.~~ annis in hibernia prædicavit; Profi-
tiebat amplius de patritio narrare. sed cum-
pendio laboris. breviter nunc liceat terminare.
EXPLICIT DE S^CO PATRITIO EPO.

N O T E S.



N O T E S.

(¹) BEFORE chronology was reduced to a consistent form, every one assumed the right of calculating for himself, so that “Tot fore fuerunt Epochæ quot populi.” The present supputation, though clearly influenced by that of the septuagint, agrees neither in the aggregate nor in the intermediate divisions, with any other I am acquainted with.

Dionysius Exiguus was the first chronologer who reckoned from the Incarnation. Yet, though sanctioned by the Pope, that great event was not generally introduced in the churches of the West, till the eighth century. (“Supputationem annorum a Christo nato in antiquis Historiis ante 750 circiter vix usurpatam: deinceps vero sub Pipino Rege ejusque filio Carolo Magno, paulatim invaluisse.” *Egidius Bucherius, in Chron. Regum Francor. sec. 1.*) Some event in our Saviour’s history, was from the early part of our æra, always reckoned from: it varied from the annunciation to the passion. The fifteenth of Tiberius (see the elaborate discussion of Lardner on this year; Credibility, vol. i. c. 3), expressed in this computation, is not to be found in Gale or Bertram:—a presumption, that the materials for this chronicle were originally brought together, before the incarnation was a settled æra in this island.

(²) The date of transcript is hence decided; the fifth of Edmund answers to 945. The custom of thus prefixing the year of the reigning prince to manuscripts, (still practised in the titles of our

Acts of Parliament,) was once usual, whether they were diplomatic or ecclesiastical. Instances occur from the commencement of the ninth to the eleventh century, in the thirty-fourth dissertation of Muratori. It is repeated in the nineteenth page of this chronicle.

(³) The blank space of about the breadth of two lines, was probably left to be filled with some ornament.

(⁴) “ edita ab Anachoreta Marco ejusdem gentis S^o. Episcopo.) If Mark was a real personage, it is to be regretted, that he was not designated by his British, rather than by his ecclesiastical name, so that he might have been more easily identified. Independently of the ambiguity hereby occasioned, may be added that resulting from names being modelled after the Latin and Saxon tongues. In Italy, before the irruptions of the Goths and Lombards, the cognomen was continued in families originally Roman; but, from about that period, no name, discriminating a particular stem, descended to posterity. Some adventitious appellation marked the individual, and many of these, as the Porcari, Castracagni, &c. indicating the origin of the ancestor, are permanent in noble families of Italy; but, they were often personal, and were not always continued through life. Among the Britons, we have Cynedda Wledig, (the illustrious,) Caswallon law bir, (or the long-handed). St. Patrick was known by four different names, adopted in succession, each expressive of the change to which it owed its rise. Talieain had been previously called Gwion and Merddin, (Hanes Taliesin). This want of precision was complained of at the time it was practised, especially where signatures were required; and Muratori speaks of an ancient deed, subscribed by ten Johns, three Peters, and four Martins, all without any addition. Nor was it before the end of the tenth century, that a surname became permanent. “ Sub finem s^eculi decimi, sed maxime s^eculo undecimo ineunte, cognominum usum frequentari cœpisse.” (*Mabillon de Re Diplom*, l. 11. s. 7. *Muratori Diss.* 41. *Du Cange*, “ *Nomina mutari*,” O. P. M. S. and note 117.) But whether Mark be the real author, or only a transcriber of the work, the titles of Anacho-

with *ad Episcopum* must point to an age when those titles were consistent in the same individual. The high opinion once attached to the eremitical life, is well known to those who are conversant with the earlier history of the Christian Church. Though Cenobites and Anchorites were then chiefly laymen, yet, from the reputation of superior sanctity, it was not unusual to draw them from their retreats, invest them with holy orders, and elevate them to the rank of bishop.* (*Orig. Eccles.* vol. iii. p. 19. *Godof. ad Cod. Theod.* tom. vi. pt. 1. p. 76, and 106.) Thus was the Episcopal Dignity sometimes conferred on such persons; as an honorary distinction, or, at least, with limited authority; (*Orig. Eccles.* vol. ii. p. 163. *Fra Paolo del Verme. bnf. c. 14,*) and the title of bishop was occasionally given without consecration. ("Episcopi dicuntur qui tamen usquam consecrati sunt Episcopi." *Dicit Cange.*) In the *Britannia Sancta*, we meet with no less than five hermits among our countrymen, Kieran, Kentigern, Paul, Vesige, and Macchutus, who were taken from their cells, and raised to the episcopal throne: the latest of these flourished in the sixth century. It was perhaps to prevent indiscriminate preference, that Anchorites were at length subject to rules, and placed under the jurisdiction of a superior. By the fifth canon of the seventh Council of Toledo, (646) it was ordered, that hermits who were ignorant or immoral, should be shut up in Monasteries, and that those only should be left in retirement who were commendable for their holy lives. That in future, none should be admitted to the profession of a hermit, who had not learned the religious life in monasteries. And the forty-

* Though the Chureti, as to its external policy and government, held some conformity to the state and division of the Roman empire; the variations are not to be calculated. Before and after the council of Sardica, (A. 347) there were bishops, both in small cities and villages. Nasianum "was but a very small city," and for that reason, Gregory Nazianzen styled his own father, who was bishop of it, *auxiliarius*, a little bishop, and one of the second order. Yet he was no *Chorishop*, but an absolute bishop in his own diocese, as the Bishop of Rome, or Alexandria, &c. &c. "In Asia Minor a tract of land, not much larger than the Isle of Great Britain, (including but two dioceses of the Empire,) there were almost 400 bishops; as appears from the ancient Notitia of the church, &c.—(Bingham, b. i. c. 12. sec. 2.)

first cation of the Constantinopolitan Council, (692) in Trullo; orders that those who would be Anchorites, should be at least three years in a monastery. (See also *Isid. de Eccles. Offic.* l. 2: c. 15. *De Monachis.*)

"There is a small island almost adjoining to Anglesey, which is inhabited by hermits, living by manual labour, and serving God. This island is called in Welsh Ynys Lenach, or the priests' island, because many bodies of saints are deposited there, and no woman is suffered to enter it." (*Girald. Camb. Sir R. C. Hoare's translation*, vol. ii, p. 106.)

(¹) To investigate the rise of the *fable of Brutus*, it becomes necessary to extend our research beyond the traditions and written documents of this island.

The first notices on record of the people of Italy, we receive from the Greeks of Sicily and Magna Gracia. Theagenes of Rhodium, who flourished in the reign of Cambyses, about the sixty-third Olympiad, is the oldest who makes mention of Italoti; for so the Greeks of lower Italy were denominated. (Hesych. Ιταλοί.) Hippius, his fellow citizen, contemporary with Xerxes, wrote also on the affairs of Italy, together with Antiochus of Syracuse, who is allowed to have flourished in the ninetieth Olympiad; and a catalogue of those who employed their pens on the same subject, is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Fabricius. But these writers, far from investigating vulgar traditions, injured the truth of their national memorials, by the introduction of fabulous details. In a country, where the national temper was ardent, and the imagination rendered more fervid by the relations of Hesiod and Homer, a poetic character was impressed on the early narratives of the Greeks, which procured the applause of the vulgar, and the contempt of the philosopher. In the gentle nations of antiquity, power and vanity were associates, and no sooner did they feel importance, than a divine origin was asserted. If we attend to the imperfect and mutilated details of the writers above cited, we shall find an enumeration of the Greek and Trojan heroes, who had shared and survived the glorious enterprises of the ten years' war, and

who, as impelled by the fates, settled in Asia, Africa, or Italy. Among these was Æneas: though they might have been taught from a source of at least equal authenticity with any they had any opportunity of investigating, that he and his descendants reigned over the Trojans, after the Greeks had destroyed the capital of their country.

The period, when the tradition of the Trojan extraction was assumed by the Romans, is to be ascertained with tolerable satisfaction. Before the fifth age of their city, this people knew little beyond the confines of the divisions of their own state; we may believe, they had scarcely heard of the Greeks, and were little conversant in their history and mythology. Neither were they otherwise than faintly visible to them, till the time of Alexander. Theopompus, who was contemporary with Philip, is the first writer by whom the Romans are mentioned, "ante quem nemo mentionem habuit." (*Plin. l. 3. c. 15.*) So little were they known in the days of Aristotle, that his disciple Heracleides of Pontus, mistook Rome for a Greek maritime city, which he says, was captured by an army of Hyperboreans; for so he styles the Gauls. (*Plut. in Camil.*) In fact, the uncertainty of the true origin of the Romans is acknowledged by themselves, and various traditions of it, in early times, are quoted by Plutarch.* (*V. Romuli,*) and Festus, (*in Romana.*) The earliest rumour of the Trojan approach, is to be found in the fragments of Ennius, the first Latin author who wrote the annals of the Roman republick. (*Apud. Hesel.*) In these Æneas is recognised in the island of Procida; the authority is from Nevius, in his poem on the first Punic war. "Prochyta hanc Nenius, in primo belli Punici de cognata Æneae nomen accepisse dicit." In the sixth age of the city, the inscriptions on the shields presented by Titus Quintius Flamininus, to Apollo at Delphi, after the

* He says that the first Grecian writer, who adopted the legend of Romans, was Diocles of Peparetas. He was followed by Ennius, whose work was composed in Greek, (*Cis de Div. l. 1. c. 21.*) as were those of C. Alimentus, P. Corn. Scipio Afric. (Son of the great Scipio.) A. Post. Albinus, who was ridiculed by Cato, for composing an history in Greek, and afterwards offering apologies for the inaccuracy and inelegance of his expressions.

first Macedonian war, assert the Trojan extraction of the Romans. (*Plut. in Flaminius*)

Virgil has been censured for countenancing a vulgar delusion, but surely without foundation; for whatever his private sentiments were, time and opinion had sanctioned an error unsafe to controvert, since it was then interwoven with the established religion and the public usages of Rome. The pontifical college exercised a superior jurisdiction over all things that related to the service of the gods, and the private rights and interests of individuals. The sacred character of the members of that association, (on whom additional honour was reflected by rank and extraction,) was protected by the laws, opinions, and manners of their country, and they never failed rigorously to exercise the rights attached to their sacerdotal and civil jurisdiction; the tradition of a Trojan origin must have had the sanction of their approbation, for many of the most distinguished and ancient families in Rome, as the Lantini from Lamus, a king of the Lestrygones, (*Hor. l. S. O. 17.*) the Mamilli from Ulisses, (*Vaillant. Num. Fam. Rom.*) and it was the boast of Caesar, "a Venere Julii cuius gentis familiæ est nostra. Est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines possunt: et ceremonia Deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges." (*V. Jul. Cas. 16. 6.*) This tradition was never lost to posterity. "So universal was this humour, and carried to such an absurd excess of extravagance, that, under the reign of Justinian, even the Greeks were ambitious of being thought to be descended from the Trojans, their ancient and notorious enemies."—*Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i: Disc. 1.)

"Vain, perhaps, of claiming a descent similar to that of the masters of the world; the vanquished nations of western Europe adopted a similar persuasion. In the fourth century, Ammianus reports a tradition, which prevailed among the Gauls,* that they were descendants of fugitive Trojans. "Aiunt quidam paucos,

* The Gaulish Bretons were proud of this origin so late as the sixteenth century. Parvi, in his funeral oration, pronounced over Ann of Bretagne, (1515) Queen of Louis the Twelfth, traces her genealogy up to Brutus and Thyone, daughter of Pandrus, a noble Emperor of Greece. (*Asturias*, vol. i. p. 187.)

*post excidium Troja, fugientis Graecos undique dissipatos, loca
haec occupasse tunc vacua.*" (l. 15.) And in the sixth, Huni-
boldus Francus deduced the Franks, from Francio son of Priam,
and exhibits a regular line of sovereigns down to Pharamond,
“ and the Trojan extraction of the French was a favourite opini-
on in France in the seventh and eighth centuries.” (*Hist. Laten.
de France*, tom. iv. p. 271. *Du Chevre, Biblioth. des Autheurs
&c.* c. 3. p. 10.) It is again discovered in the chronicle of the cele-
brated Sigebert de Gemblours, (Sherrington, c. 1. p. 9.) which
is brought down to the year 1112; it was also found in the MS.
which Henry of Huntingdon saw at Bac, in Normandy, 1110,
(*Langhorn Antiq. Albionenses: and Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 56.)
and from which he also transcribed the Trojan origin of the Bri-
tons, in his own history (l. 1.).

His narrative, together with the former, is given nearly in the
words of Mark, without any of the amplifications with which the
history of Jeffery abounds. It should not pass unnoticed, that in
the most ancient and authentic Cambrian records, the Trojan
origin of the Britains is never adverted to. The expression of
Taliesin in his mystical poem, *Hanes Taliesin*,

“ I was in Britain when the Trojans came,”
means the Romans. Are we hence to infer, that the tradition of
Brutus was familiar to him, and that he here alludes to it contem-
ptuously? A translation of this extraordinary and obscure per-
formance is given in the appendix.

If we admit the authority, the period when the name of Brutus
was conferred on this island, is fixed by Jeffery, in the reign of
Cadwallader, (676-703,) who, speaking in the person of Merlin,
“ The island shall be called by the name of Brutus, and that now
given by foreigners shall be abolished.” (Thompson's translation,
b. 7. p. 212.) The traditions respecting the founders of the British
dynasty, which he professes to have received; “ ex animalibus Ro-
manorum;” — “ ex antiquis libris nostrorum;” — “ ex traditione re-
sterum,” are particularized in pages 4 and 48. It is, perhaps, hardly
worth remarking on the unsettled opinion, as to the identity of the
hero; “ a quodam Bruto,” is the expression. He is Densus
Brutus, who subdued Spain, “ ac duxit eum in Hispaniam

Rome;" he is the grandson of *Aeneas*; and in a subsequent pedigree, Brutus is grafted on the line of Japhet, and not many removes from that Patriarch. The lines in italics, from obliteration in the copy, whence the present was made, have been supplied by a later though an ancient hand; who, being unacquainted with the subject, breaks the thread of the narrative, and fills up the chasm with something of his own. The sense is restored from Herbam.

Mark.

"*Et filius esset omnium Hytalarum fortissimus amabilis omnibus hominibus.*" Propter hanc vaticinationem, &c.

Bartram, c. 3. p. 99. l. 9.

"*Et foetus ejus erit fortis, quia occidet, inquit, patrem et matrem suam, et erit exosus omnibus hominibus.*" Propter hanc vaticinationem, &c.

Mark.

"*Omnes superabat ut omnium dominus videretur; idcirco eutem invidia,*" expulsus est ab italia, &c.

Bartram, c. 3. p. 99. l. 25.

"*Inopino ictu sagittae occidit patrem suum, non de industria sed casu.*"—"Propter hanc causam expulsus est ab Italia," &c.

(*) "Consule Romano.) Omitted in the Bodleian copy.

The term consul, in the middle ages, became a title of honour, and was conferred on illustrious persons. (*Selden. Poly.* p. 84.) Traces of this usage appear in the reign of Charlemagne. (*Muratori, Diss. 46. Dei magistrati delle Città libere d'Italia.*)

In our ancient law-books it signifies, or is equivalent to the dignity of an Earl. Bracton (l. 1. c. 8.) tells us, that Comes is from Comitatu, and consul from Consulendo; and in the laws of Edward the Confessor, mention is made of Vicecomites and Viceconsules. The appellation occurs in Thompson's Translation of Jeffery, (b. 9. c. 15.) where Arthur and his consuls are introduced. The British word is Twysgigion, Princes, or Generals, terms by which the true meaning is better expressed. In Alfred's

Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, Alaric is an Alderman, Archimedes is a Thane, Augurs are Bishops, and Vestals are Nuns.

(¹) This sentence, in itself obscure and ungrammatical, has been rendered less intelligible from the supposition, that Africus has reference to the continent of Africa.

Gale, Bertram, Selden, and the Bodleian copy, read—"ab Africa brumali." The Bennet College, MS. "Ab Africa brumali, i. e. hiemali." Mark preserves the true reading. Africus, the Libe of the Greeks, the Libeccio of modern Italy, is described by Vitruvius, (l. 1. c. 6.) as the south-west wind, or that blowing between Auster and Favonius. This term, with reference to Britain, was in frequent use among early topographers. Isidore says of it, "Ab Africo in Boream porrigitur." (l. 14. c. 6.) Orosius,— "Hybernia insula, inter Britannium, et Hispaniam sita, longiore ab aphrico in Boream spatio porrigitur." (l. 1. c. 2.)

(¹) "Ad occidentem versa DCCC in longitudine, milium, cc in latitudine spatium habet." These measures must be understood generally, and taken in an inclined direction throughout the island from Penrym, (*Penrym Cernis*) to Caithness (*Peryn Badon*): many English antiquarians take the commencement from Totness. This track is traditionally connected with one of the ancient British roads, reputedly constructed by Dunwal Moelmud, the line of which it followed. Respecting this tradition, the reader is referred to the *Collectanea of Leland*, (tom. ii. p. 224.) to Tynilio, (p. 48.) with Robert's notes, and Higden in his chapter, "de Platiis Regalibus." (*Polychron*, l. 1.) and the commentary on the itinerary of Richard, p. 102. (*English Trans.*) Some idea of the magnitude of Britain, seems to have been handed down from times long prior to the invasion of the first Caesar; for Pytheas and Isidorus report, that it was 3825 miles in circuit. (*Plin. l. 4. c. 16.*) The first of these may have sailed round it, his voyages will be afterwards referred to.

(^c) "Civitates—Caer,"—"as was anciently written, where we now use as. For, in all the old copies of Nennius, we never find Caer; (a city) but Cair, or Kair." (*Lhuyd Arch. Brit.* p. 226.) "Caer, the root of this word is Cae, (sub. masc.) an inclosure, a hedge, metaphorically signifying a field." "Cair, (sub. fem.) a wall, or mound of defence; the walls of a city, a castle, a fortress, a walled or fortified town. Places denominated Caer by the Britons, were called by the Romans Castrum, and by the Saxons Caester, Cester, Chester... (*Owen's Welsh Dictionary. Mona Antiqua*, sec. 5, p. 20.) The term Caer does not always designate a genuine British city. The Britons prefixed this word to most places fortified by the Romans. (*Camden, Merionethshire*, p. 658.). It was the custom of this people to retain the names of the places they conquered, adding a Latin termination; and where it is British, we may infer that they had had a previous existence, and it may be urged in favour of the antiquity of these which follow, that they are neither latinized nor saxonized. The motives which influenced Mark in this selection of British cities, is not entirely clear. They have only a casual relation to such as are episcopal, to the civitates of Roman Britain, as enumerated by Richard; nor have they a regular correspondence with the capitals of the Saxon Heptarchy. A list of thirty-three is here given; our early chronicles, and the copies called after Nennius, enumerate only twenty-eight; nor are the latter and the former uniformly correlative. Of these a greater average is localized within, or near the borders of Wales, a proportion at no period admissible, since (except in the reign propinquus of a Cambrian) in opulence, magnitude, or celebrity, the cities there situated, never excelled those of England taken generally; from a preference so partial, it may be conjectured, that the collector was a native of the Principality. Materials aiding topographical research relative to our islands, in remote periods, are few and unsatisfactory, and all attempts fully to identify our ancient cities have been more or less unsatisfactory. With regard to those before us, the occasional deviations from the high authority of Usher, are proposed with much diffidence.

Some indeed as *Cair hebrauc* and *Cair Londein*, may, perhaps, be allowed to speak for themselves; but in the absence of better testimony, resemblance in sound and fancied etymology, have been received with too little caution.

But, "the footsteps of several towns and forts, that flourished in the time of the Romans, are now so obscure and undiscernible, that we are not to wonder if the conjectures of learned and judicious men about their situation, prove sometimes erroneous." (*Ibid.*, *Caernarvonshire*, p. 626.) These are reasons, which, I trust will be admitted as justifiable for retaining the original names.

*Cair.**Ushér.*

1.

Hebrauc. *York.* a municipal city. (*Richard*, l. 1.
1. p. 36.)

2.

Ceint. *Canterbury.*

3.

Gur coc.

I find no trace of this city elsewhere. The *Goccium* or *Coccium* of Antonine, (*Camden*, *Lancashire*, p. 973) distant eighteen miles from *Mancumium*, was once of eminence, and possessed the rights of *Latium*, (*Richard*, l. 1. p. 36,) and from whence, perhaps, the modern town of Preston. (*Camden*, *ibid.*) *Whitaker* (*Manchester*, vol. i. p. 76,) says, the village of *Blackrode* marks the site of the ancient *Coccium*. *Tre Coc* (the red city, from being built of bricks probably) was once an important Roman station—it was near *Llandovery*. (*Hoare's Giraldus*, Preface p. c*i*. and c*ix*.)

*Cair.**Usher.*

is proved by part of a capital, and of a corresponding column, which now remain there; but from other fragments, which also remain, and are of different dimensions, it is probable, that there were other decorated buildings besides. The dedication to "Hercules of the Segontiaci," which has been found there, clearly proves to what people it belonged. (*Do. Becke, Archaeologia*, vol. xv. p. 184.)

8.

Gwin Truis.

Not to be found in the Triads, nor in the copies of Nennius, and is the only city omitted in his list of twenty-eight cities. This word may have been disfigured by transcript; and if so, it was perhaps "Cair Guinguie quæ Noricum fortasse fuerit (Britannis Caer Guntin appellatum—vel potius Winwick Lancastrenium: Veteri Nennii glossatori Wincestria sive Wintonia est. (*Usher*, p. 33.) The British name of Norwich was Caer Guntum; a city which derived its importance from the ruins of the neighbouring Venta Icenorum; (Caster) nor does the name appear in any writer before the time of the Danish wars, and the appellation of Venta still exists in that of the more recent Guntum. (*Camden, Norfolk*, p. 385.)

<i>Cair.</i>	<i>Usher.</i>	
9.		
Merdin.		<p>I do not find this city in Nennius, nor is it noticed by Usher, though it is by Henry of Huntingdon. It is the Caer Vyrddin of the Triads. Caermarthon. (<i>Camden</i>, p. 622.) It is the Muridunum of the Itineraries, and by Richard, (p. 22, 36) a stipendiary city, and the capital of the Dimetæ. (p. 22.) “Dimeciarum urbes Menapia et primaria Muridunum.” It has been, though erroneously, styled the city of Merlin. (<i>Giral. Camb.</i> p. 185.) Caervyrdin, (Caermarthen) is not so called after Merlin, but from Myrddin, the city of the legion “because of the Myrddyn, that is, the legion of ten thousand men; i. e. a legion who were there.” (<i>Roberts Coll. Camb.</i> p. 118.) “Myrz—infinity; a myriad or ten thousand. (<i>Owen's Dict.</i>)</p>
10.		
Peris.	Porchester.	<p>“Ad mare est etiam Portus magnus, nunc Portesmouth in cuius ostio erat Civitas Caer Peris olim, nunc vero Porchestre vocata.” (<i>H. Llwyd Frag.</i> p. 14.)</p>
11.		
Lion.	Caer Lion, (upon Usk.)	<p>See No. 22—“Caer Lion—it has been supposed, that the word Lion is a Welsh modification, or corruption of the term Legion; if this derivation was well considered,</p>

*Cair.**Usher.*

the improbability of it would appear; for the places so called had names, and I would presume, those identical names here mentioned, and were also places of strength, pointed out by the eligibility of their situation before the Romans made their appearance. The Welsh term for Legion, is Lleng, a very common word in all the writings of the different ages; and, therefore, the name ought to be Cair Lleng, a very easy structure from Cair Llœon, a word of three syllables: the proper name of the town is Cair Llœon, not Caer Llœon; as it is always found in our most ancient MSS. The import of Llion seems to be streams, torrents, or floodings; and the situation of the place which bears that name, is situated on the banks of a river. (*Owen, M.S.*)

12.

*Mencipit.**Verulam.*

Near St. Albans—"Verulam was now quite ruined by these wars, (with the Saxons) when about the year of our Lord 793, Offa founded a stately monastery to the memory of St. Alban. Presently hereupon, there grew up the town of St. Albans. (*Camden, p. 298.*) I am not convinced, that Mencipit and Verulam were the same. Verulam is recorded by Tacitus under the name of Veru-

*Cair.**Usher.*

tum; and who, together with Richard, styles it a municipal city: and it is the fancied resemblance between Mencipit and Municipium, which has thus designated it; but I conceive, that as an ancient British city, Verulam had an appropriate name, and not one derived from the rank it held among the Civitates of the Roman empire. York was municipal also, and retains a modification of its British denomination. Verulam was by the Saxons called Wertamcester. (*Camden*, p. 296.)

13.

Caratauc.

Not to be found in Nennius. In the Triads, Caradawg. So many places commemorate the name Caractacus, that it is difficult which is here meant. Caer Caradoc—nunc vero Sarsbury ab Anglis. (*H. Lluyd. Frag.* p. 15.) Owen (MS.) places it near Amesbury. The true Caer Caradoc, which, if not the royal seat of Caractacus, seems to have been his fortress during the wars with the Romans, was in Shropshire, two miles south of Clun, and three from Coxall, (a hamlet to the parish of Brampton Bryant). (*Museum Antiq.* vol. i. p. 23. *Camden, Shropshire*, p. 551.) There is another fortress, distinguished by the name of Caer Caradoc, near

Cair. **Usher.**

14. Longnor, in Shropshire. (*Muchim. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 22.)

Ceri. **Cirencester.** Cair Ceri is mentioned in a Welsh poem, *Gorhoffed Hywell*, or the boast of Howel, and again in another, composed in one of the periodical circuits formerly made at the great festivals, by the Welsh princes. It must have been of note, as it received the train in its progress. It was in Montgomeryshire. (*Bardic Museum*, vol. ii. p. 39; and the ancient map of Wales, in Warrington.) "The name of Cair Ceri, I believe, is retained in the village of Ceri, which lies on the road from Newton, in Montgomeryshire, to Bishop's Castle, in Shropshire, within four miles from the former place. It is written Ceri by the Welsh, the pronouncing of which, according to the English orthography, is Kerry; but in the old map now before me, is Kerye." (O. P. MS.)

15. **Glouci.** **Gloucester.** In the Triads, Caer Loca. A colonial city. (*Richard*, l. 1. p. 36. *Camden, Gloucestershire*, p. 235.)

16. **Lanidid.** **Carlisle.**

17. **Grant.** **Granchester.** On the Cam, a mile and a half

*Cair.**Usher.*

from Cambridge. This city was in ruins as early as the time of Bede. "Venerunt ad civitatem quondam desolatam, non procul inde sitam, quae lingua Anglorum Grantacaester vocatur; et mox invenerunt juxta muros civitatis loculum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque simili lapidis apissime tectum, &c. (*Hist. l. 4. c. 19.*)

18.

Daun.

Doneaster.

19.

Britoc.

Bristol.

20.

Meguid.

Meivod.

21.

Maunguid.

Meguid. (*Usher.*) In the Triads, *Cair Mygid*. Meivod, now a small village in Montgomeryshire, situated about a mile below Mathraval, on the north side of the river Myrawy. (*Camden, Montgomeryshire*, p. 654.) Mathraval was once the royal residence of the Princes of Wales. (*Warrington*, vol. i. p. 153.)

Mauchguid. (*Gale and Bartram.*) Camden (p. 511, 514.) is inclined to think it Manchester, and the Manduesum of the Romans. It is seated on the military way by the river Anker, not far to the south of Atherton, and says divers coins in silver and brass have been found there. We meet with

*Cair.**Usher.*

Cair Menegid, in Anglesey, the scene of one of Roderick's engagements with the Danes, A. 873. (*Poet's Wales.*) Whitaker says, the British name of Manchester was Mancenion. (*Manchester*, vol. i. p. 4.)

22.

Ligion.**Chester.**

In the Triads, Caer Lleon ; and is styled Caer Lleon Vaur, to distinguish it from Caer Lleon ar Usk. No. 11.

23.

Guent.**C. Went.**

The Venta Silurum of the Romans, and one of the 12 stipendiary cities of Britain. (*Richard*, p. 36.) The ruins of this once celebrated place are still visible about 4 miles from Chepstow ; the name of Caer Went is not lost to the neighbouring inhabitants to this day. (*Camden, Monmouthshire*, p. 595.)

24.

Collon.

Perhaps the Caer Golun of the Triads. Usher is undecided respecting this city. Colchester has been proposed, from its being seated on the Colne, or because it was a colonial city.

It may have been Caer Kolwhyn, now Harlech in Merionethshire, where many Roman antiquities have been dug up. (*Camden*, p. 668.)

25.

Londein.**London.**

<i>Cair.</i>	<i>Usher.</i>	
26. Guorcon.		Apparently the Caer Gorgyn of the Triads. I have nothing sa- tisfactory to offer respecting this city. Can it have been Caer Voran “ Litera g olim erat liquidiuscula, sicuti nostrum y.” (<i>Baxter</i> , p. 68.) on the Tippel? (<i>Camden, Nor- thumberland</i> , p. 848.) See the Elegies of Lywarch Hen. (<i>Owen’s Translation</i> , p. 95, n.)
27. Leirion.	Leicester.	
28. Draithon.	Draiton.	Shropshire. Droithon. Gale and Bartram.
29. Pensavelcoin.	Ilchester.	Pensavelcoit , Gale and Bartram. (<i>Camden, Somersetshire</i> , p. 59.)
30. Teim.		I cannot satisfy myself as to this city. It is not to be found in any copy of Nennius I have seen, nor in the Triads, <i>Camden</i> , <i>Usher</i> , nor <i>Baxter</i> . Several of our rivers begin with Tam, or some word like it. Thus we have Timsbury on the Time in Shropshire; Tamar on the river so called, now Tamer- ton, an ancient town mentioned by Ptolemy; Teignmouth and Bishop’s Teignton, on the Teigne in Devon- shire. (<i>Camden</i> , p. 13, 30. <i>Bax- ter</i> , p. 22.)

<i>Cair.</i>	<i>Usher.</i>
31.	
Urnoch.	Wroxester. The Vriconium of the Itineraries. Nomen dedit Urbs ipclita monti Vericonio, sive Wreken. (<i>Baxter,</i> p. 243.)
32.	
Celemon.	Camalet. " Super Damnonios ad Sabrinum vestrum erant olim Murotrignum regio nunc vero nobis Gylfd yr haf, appd quos visum celeberrimi loci olim Caermalet alias Camalet vesti- gina." (<i>H. Lluyd Frag.</i> 33.)
33.	
Loit Coit.	Luit Coit, Bertram. Luit Coit, Gale. See note on the latter, and also that of Usher. (<i>Antiq. c. 5,</i> p. 35.)

(¹⁰) The lines comprehended between "xxxiii Civitates," and "et innumerabilis promontoria, cum innumerabilibus castellis," * are parenthetical, and may be taken away without injury to the sense. In other copies of the Historia Brittonum, twenty-eight cities only are particularised, and they make the final chapter. Thus Geldas (c. 1.) his denis bisque quatuor civitatibus ac nonnullis Castellis, &c. and Bede (l. i. c. 1.) "Erat et civitatibus quondam viginti et octo nobilissimis insignitis præter castella innumeris, &c." "Et in ea habitabant 1111 gentes." Bede adds a fifth. "Hæc

* "Cum innumerabilibus Castellis." I have translated this word Castles, for want of one more appropriate, and subjoin the definitions of it in its ancient acceptation from Du Cange. "Castellum Gloss. Lat. MS. Regiam Cod. 1013. *Castrum antiqui oppidum vocabat in alto positum, cuius diminutio facit castellum.* Quod sensu Hirtius dixit. *Castella complexa locis editis posita.* Gloss. Lat. Græc. *Castellum Municipium, nuper; Castella, proprie.* Ugatio: *Castrum, quod in loco alto situm est, quasi casus alta, unde Castellum.* Salvianus, lib. 5. *Sicut solent hi, qui hostium terrore compulsi, ad castella se conseruant;* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. 4. *Munitiones, quas Castella Galli mancipant.* Guibertus Abbes Novigenti de Lande B. Marie, cap. 7. *Castellum extem ex vallo et muro terriges conficitur,* et id ipsum à castrando et coercendo vocatur."

in præsenti, juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis, unam eamdemque summis veritatis et verae sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et constitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Britorum, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum, quae meditazione scripturarum ceteris omnibus et facta communia." (*Hist. l. 1. c. 1.*)*

(¹¹) "Guerth—Eubonia vel Manau, cum tribus insulis."

Triad 67. The three chief islands of the primary island of Britain, were Orch, Manau, and Gwyth. Afterwards the sea broke in, so that Mon (Anglesey) became an island; and in like manner Orc was so broken, as to have become a multitude of islands; and other parts in Albania (Scotland) and the Cymri land, became islands. †

Triad, No. 3. (Vaughan's copy.) Its three principal adjacent islands: Orkney, Manau, and the isle of Wight, and sixty-seven other adjacent islands there are to it.

The name of Guerth (illam Gwyth nominaverunt, quod divertit significat. *Sherrington*, p. 48.) countenances the tradition above stated respecting this island. If, as usually conjectured, (though I confess with little foundation) it is the Ictis of Diodorus, it was once separated from the opposite shore by a ford only: 'In the time of Bede, however, it was divided from the main land by a channel three miles wide, ("interposito pelago latitudinis trium milium.") *Hist. l. 4. c. 3 and 16.* it is now near thirty. The Scilly islands too, once only ten in number, are now more than one hundred and forty. (*Whitaker, Manchester*, vol. i. p. 385. *Camden*, p. 1111.)

* The Armorican tract was formerly of varying extent, (*Whitaker, Britons Asserted*, &c. p. 213.) and there are reasons for believing, that consistently with the term, the northern and western coast of Gaul were so denominated. The Civitates Armoricanæ in the map in Richard of Cirencester, are laid down as extending from the Seine to the Laire.

† As Anglesey is not enumerated as one of the British Islands, are we thence to conclude, that the materials he made use of were of higher date than the separation of that Island by the Straights of Menai? (*Warrington's Wales*, vol. ii. p. 25.)

(¹³) . Eubonia vel Manna.) 'Eubonia' Messia, (*Bodleian*); Messa quod est Mæn sū vel exis insula, (*Baxter*). Man was the Monæda of Ptolemy. "Olim appellabatur Monæda, nunc autem Menævia secunda." (*Richard.*) Bede (l. 2, c. 5 and 6) styles this island Menavia secunda, to distinguish it from Anglesey, or Menavia prima. Orosius (l. 1, c. 2) says it was inhabited by the Scotti. It was by early writers called Eubonia, and among others by Joceline in his life of St. Patrick. "Returning to Hibernia he touched at the islands of the sea, one whereof, Eubonia, that is Manna; at that time subject to Britain, he by his miracles and by his preaching converted to Christ." (*Swift's Translation*, c. 92.)

The Isle of Man was never in possession of the Romans; and its inhabitants retained their primitive simplicity. Their original government was Druidical, admirably adapted to the good of mankind, and so mixed with the prince and priest, that the state and religion had but one interest. This patriarchal government is supposed to have continued here till the end of the 4th century. (*Sacheverell's Isle of Man*.)

(¹⁴) Orch.—Orcania (*Gale*). Orkanie (*Bodleian*).

The existence of Orkney as a single island, rests, I believe, on the tradition preserved by our author, and the Triad last cited. I see no more reason to doubt the division of Orch, than of the Scilly islands, the multiplication of which is indubitable.

It may be added, that Dr. Barry, from geological observation, is of the opinion that the Orkneys were formerly united to the main land of Scotland. (*History of the Orkney Islands*, p. 7.)

(¹⁴) This transient glance at the civil policy of our early ancestors derived, "proverbio antiquo," is one of the few preserved by our author; nor do I know that the system here alluded to, is to be found in any of our ancient chronicles. It is, however, further developed in the Cambrian MS. In the thirty-fourth Triad of the three conventional princes of Britain, Prydain, the son of Aedd the great, is said to have governed Britain, with its dependent isles. In Triad the third, (*Vaughan's copy*) we find

that Britain, in remote times, was divided into three parts, Lloegria (England), Albania (Scotland), and Cambria (Wales) and that each of these was subdivided into districts, which were governed by their respective Regali, but apparently with limited authority. The order of succession, though sometimes broken, was commonly hereditary; and in the partition of private inheritance the law of Gavelkind apparently uniform.

In seasons of great emergency, the confederate princes elected a supreme sovereign, on whom was conferred the title of Brenhin Prydaim Oll, or King of all Britain; who, as expressed by Mark, "judicavit Britanniam cum tribus insulis." This high distinction was, with few exceptions, (Triad 44) confined to the successors of Hu Gadarn, the leader of the first colony of the Cymri in Britain, and continued in that line till the eighth century, when it finally closed in the person of Cadwalladr, the last King of Britain.

With some semblance of this antique title, Roderic the Great, in the following century, divided his dominion among his three sons, gave the eldest a superiority over his brothers, by assigning him the title of Brenhin Cymru Oll, or King of all Wales. The materials which have furnished this note, are Triads 3, 4, 6, 17, 24, 44. Tysilio, p. 3, 4, 6. Mosa Antiqua, p. 29, 174, and the Cambrian Biography. On this subject, Blackstone, vol. ii. Introduction, sec. 3, and book 4, c. 33: and Mr. Robert's disertation on the laws of Dyfnwal Moelmyr (Coll. Camb. vol. i. Appendix, No. 5) may be consulted with advantage.

(¹) Ihuyl (*Archæol.* c. 1, p. 228 and 280) thus traces the change of the vowel *i* into *y* in ancient British MSS. Towards the end of the 12th century the *y* was so common as wholly to exclude the use of *i*. In the year 1269, he finds it constantly pointed, but the letter *i* also used with it indifferently. In the books of the fourteenth century, the point is generally omitted; and so was ever after discontinued; the difference in the pronunciation between *y* and *i*, where the syllable is short, being scarcely perceptible.

(¹⁶) "Ascanius autem Albem condidit," Dióscyros (l. 1.) asserts that Ascanius never left Phrygia; and Strabo (l. 15) that he reigned at Scopas, near the ruins of Troy, and that his posterity continued there a long time possessed of a regal title. Any one inclined to call in question the earlier parts of the Roman history, may be furnished with materials for gratifying scepticism, in the literary contest carried on in the last century between Messrs. Pöhl and Salier (*Mémoires de la Littérature*, tom. viii) and in a "Dissertation upon the Uncertainty of the Roman history during the first five hundred years." (8vo, London, 1740.)

(¹⁷) Labina. In the foregoing paragraph, Levina. The convertibility of the labial letters, was, in the opinion of Lhuys (*Archæol.* c. 3. p. 19) one cause of the origin of the various European dialects (many of which are now become distinct languages) common to the Celtic, of course to the British tribes, to the Etruscans, and to the Romans; by the latter long prior to the sixth century. Provincia, Cibica, Bibus, Atabis, &c. for Provincia, Civica, Vivus, Atavis, are continually found in inscriptions, and more particularly in sepulchral stones, which record the memory of private individuals, and may be supposed to preserve both the mode of expression and the orthography in common use. It was anciently the custom for sculptors to keep by them monumental stones for retail trade. They were well formed, and neatly finished, and the D. M. at the top elegantly cut, (a circumstance too that accounts for our sometimes finding this abbreviation upon those that are Christian); while the inscription which follows is often inferior both in composition and execution. We have still to regret that a Lhuys, or a Gebelin, has not undertaken to develope the relation between the classical and vulgar dialect of ancient Rome. Tiraboschi has occasionally called the attention of his reader to this enquiry; and it has been slightly, though with some extravagance, treated of by Leonardo Bruni in his familiar letters (2 tom. 8vo. 1741). Many invaluable notices are scattered over the *Saggio di lingua Etrusca* of Lanzi; while it has been adverted to by Quadrio (*Storia e ragione della*

passion—passist) but I am not aware that any author has expressly and successfully employed his talents in this interesting enquiry.

(18) *Hytalorum*, for *Italorum*. The aspirate before a vowel was not unusual. “*H*, literam sive illam spiritum magis quam literam dicti oportet, inserviant veteres nostri plerisque vocibus verborum firmandis roborandisque, ut sonus eam in eis vivior, vegetiorque atque id videntur fecisse studio, et exempla linguae Atticæ.” (*Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic.* 2, 9.)

(19) “*Armillis fuit.*” Gale, Bartram, and Bodleian, *Arminis. Armilis Cott.* See *Du Cange Armillum*. Probably *anilis* is here meant.

(20) “*Ad insulis Maris terreni.*” The name of the Tyrrhenic sea was applied to the whole sea that washes the western coast of Europe. (*Collect. Camb.* vol i. Appendix 4th, p. 260.)

(21) “*Post intervallum vero malorum annorum.*” As before observed, no dependence is to be placed on the chronological arrangements which occur in our ancient chronicles. The early Britons had no means of comparing dates, for centuries before chronology was scientifically cultivated by the more polished nations of Europe. I can add little to what is already known of the early history of the Scots and Picts. From the computation here made use of, the latter came to Britain 212 years before Christ, a period much earlier than is elsewhere assigned for their arrival. The term *Pict* applied to certain of the inhabitants of Caledonia, first occurs in the panegyric of Eumenius on Constantius Chlorus, which could not have been pronounced later than 306, or the year in which that Emperor died at York, soon after his return from his northern expedition.

(22) “*Occupaverunt—Orcades et postea ex insulis vastaverunt regiones multas, et occupaverunt eas sinistrali parte Brytaniam.*” That the Picts and Scots were alien, and not originally British

tribes, is a fact attested by early authorities. Mark is silent as to the country whence the Picts came. (*Bede*, l. 1, c. 1. and *Smith's note*) that they came in long ships from Scythia (Scandinavia); that they sailed to Ireland, where the Scots were hostile to their settling; they then "potentes Britanniam, habitarer per Septentrionales insule partes cooperant." In the 7th Triad, the Picts are described as one of the three invading races of Britain; the second were the Gwyddyl scicti, the Irish Picts, who came to Alban (Scotland) over the Môr Llychlyn (the Danish sea); "they are settled in Alban upon the coast of the Llychlyn sea." The German* descent of the Caledonians is inferred by Tacitus (*Vit. Agric.*) from their red hair and large limbs, a fact which proves that in his time they must have been so numerous as to fix a national character.

The period of their progress to the south of Caledonia, as understood by the Romans after they had encountered Galgacus, is ascertained by Richard (l. 2, c. 1) who asserts, "that in the year of the world 4170, the Romans were expelled from Veapasiana, and about that time, under the conduct of King Reuda, the Picts are believed to have entered Britain from the islands." Matthew of Westminster (l. 4) states, that in the reign of Vespasian, Marius the son of Arviragus reigning over the Britains, Rodericus (the Reuda of Richard) King of the Picts, began to lay waste Albania. Arviragus is recognised by Juvenal (s. 4, l. 127) and Holiday in his translation, has given a valuable note on the passage.

As subsequent accessions from the mother country must have been necessary to secure possession, and confirm the Pictish power, connexion with it was long continued, and we accordingly hear of repeated arrivals of Pictish colonies in the same districts. (*User. Antiq.* c. 1.5.)

* This remark was not casually made, but the result of actual observation. In his treatise, *De Moribus Germanorum*, we have the following description also: "I concur in opinion with such as suppose the people of Germany never to have mingled by intermarriages with other nations, but to have remained pure and independent, and resembling none but themselves. Hence among such a multitude of men, the same make and form is found in all, eyes stern and blue, yellow hair, huge bodies, &c."

(²⁵) "Et missent tertiam partem Brytanias tenentes."

Though history scarcely supplies another instance of the entire abolition of any nation by one campaign, after the continuance of several centuries, as the Pictish, it is somewhat difficult to subscribe entirely to the following assertion: "Sic quidem non solum reges et duces gentis illius deleti sunt, sed etiam stirps et genus adeo cum idiomatis sui linguae defecisse legitur." (Scot. Chron. l. 4, p. 285.) The revolution to which allusion is here made, was the conquest of Kenneth the Second, who obtained a complete victory over the Picts, killed Drusken their king, and united under one monarchy, all the country from the wall of Adrian to the northern ocean. The remainder of this passage, "usque in hodiernum diem," is of some importance, as it proves that the Pictish kingdom was in existence when the materials for the "Historia Brittonum" were collected. Kenneth the Second reigned from 834 to 854, and the precise year is afterwards specified, the 24th of Mervinus, or 841, which falls within the period now mentioned.

(²⁶) "Novissime autem scotti venerunt a partibus hispaniarum ad hiberniam."

That the Scots came from Spain to Ireland (a national tradition of very early existence) was believed by Lluyd, and whose arguments deduced from identity of language are important. "The inhabitants of Cornwall and Armorica shew by their language, that they were anciently Britons. But the ancient colonies of Ireland appear to have been two distinct nations,—Gwydhels and Scots. The Gwydhels were the old inhabitants of that Island; the Scots came out of Spain. So far as their language agrees with the Welsh or other British, the words are Gwydhelian, and for the rest, they must be either Gwydhelian, lost by our ancestors, or the ancient Scottish. The Gwydhelians were not confined to North Britain, but in times more remote inhabited both England and Wales, and were inhabitants of Gaul before they came into this Island. From a careful revision of the New Testament, and certain MSS. in the Cantabrian language, I have had some satisfactory knowledge as to the affinity to part of the

Irish, that is not reconcileable to the Welsh. And my reason for calling the British, Irish Gwydhelian, and those of Spain Scots, is because the old british MSS. call the Picts Fitchid Gwydhelians, and that the Picts were Britains without question, as appears from a similarity in their language respectively. He then proceeds to prove, that the nations called by the Romans Galli, or Celtæ, were these ancient Gwydhelians." (*Lhuyd, preface to his Welsh Glossary; apud Keunet, p. 103, and O.P. M.S.*)

The New Testament published in Edinburgh, 1767, for the use of the Highlanders, was printed in the Erse or Gaidhlig Albannaick language.

Tacitus (*Vit. Agric. c. 2*) inculcates the opinion respecting one of the principal tribes in Britain, which corresponds with the suggestion of Lhuyd: "The swarthy complexion (*colorati vultus*) of the Silures, and their hair, which is generally curled, with their situation opposite to the coast of Spain, furnish ground to believe that the Iberians had arrived from thence here, and takeu possession of the territory." This semblance of African origin of the Iberians is favoured by the following authorities: Gallia Aquitania bad for its boundaries, the ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees, a district which in the days of Cæsar and Strabo abounded with Iberians.

"These people (the Iberians) are generally deduced from a nation of that name from the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus; and this remarkable tract, situated between the Euxine and the Caspian, forms an Isthmus between the nations of the North and of the South, and which seems to have retained a specimen of each passing tribe, from the date of the earliest emigration; and this situation, and the name of Iberia—may have justified the tradition of a colony of the latter people proceeding from it, for *I discover no other proof of such migration settling in Spain, than is supplied by that appellation. I am, however, more disposed to believe that the Iberians were an African stock.*" (*Rennel, Herodotus, p. 48 and 278.*) It is not to be conceived but that Africa must have occasionally supplied colonies to the opposite coast of Spain. Strabo (c. 1 & 3) has preserved a tradition which was current among the people of Tartessus,

"that the Ethiopians once traversed the regions of Africa, quite to its western limits, and some of them came and settled at Tartessus, others got possession of different parts of the sea coast."

The Irish extraction of the Scots has the support of tradition and probability. The intercourse between countries within sight of each other must have been frequent. From the nearest points in England, Port Patrick and the Mull of Cantyre, the county of Argyle is open; it is here that the first colony from Ireland are reputedly fixed. This was from the powerful tribe of the Dalraids, who are recognised in the kingdom of Ulster. (*Usser. Antig.* c. 15.) The Scots are found in Ireland by Orosius, (l. 1, p. 6.) "Hibernia Insula—Haec pars proprietor Britanniae spatiō terrarum angustior, sed coeli solisque temperie magis utilis, à Scottorum gentibus colitur." Procedente autem tempore Britannia, post Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui duce Reuda de Hibernia, progressi vel amicitiā vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes quas hactenus vindicaverint. Hibernia proprie patria Scottorum est; ab hac egressi, ut diximus, tertiam in Britannia Britonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt. (*Beda*, l. 1, c. 1.) The Irish extraction of the Scots is allowed by our early authors; (*Whitaker, Britons asserted*, p. 290) they came from Ireland, the North-western part of Antrim, formerly denominated Dalrieta, and these emigrants were hence denominated Dalreudini. They settled upon a winding of the river Clyde, and that the name of Dalrieta is recognised in that part of Scotland. (*Camden's Dissertation on the word Scot*, p. 120, and *Argyleshire*, p. 932.) I cannot satisfy myself as to the date of the arrival of the Scots, it was in all probability early in the fourth century. Their numbers must have been greatly augmented by subsequent additions, and whether they at first obtained possessions by force or friendship, they soon joined the Picts in incursions into the territories considered Roman. In the fourth century, they harassed the province of Valentia with perpetual inroads. "In Britannis Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursu, rupta quiete, conducta limitibus loca vastata sunt, et implicabat formido vicinas provincias, præteritarum clodium congerie fessas. (*Ammianus*, l. 1, c. 1. *Innes's critical*

Essay, c. 2, p. 637, on the true epocha of the first settlement of the Scots.) An enumeration of the later Spanish Colonies which settled in Ireland now follows, nothing farther of them is known; they do not illustrate any historical fact, nor are they elsewhere recognised, though they are notices which have proved an endless source of fabling. The reader will find all that tradition and imagination can supply in Usher, (*Antiq. c. 15*) Stillingfleet, (*Orig. Brit. c. 5*) and *Vallancey in his Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, No. xiv.

(²⁵) “Ceola.” The repeated use of this word, spelt in a different manner within a few lines proves the unsettled and neglected state of orthography before the discovery of printing.

(²⁶) “Vitreæ turris.” When this fable of the tower or ship of glass arose, we know not: the reader will find it adverted to in the preface.

There is a singular Mabinogion tale respecting the early peopling of Ireland. An expedition from one hundred and fifty countries went thither to avenge the blow of Bronwen; the event was so disastrous to that island, that there was not a living person left except five women in the wilderness. To these were born five sons, and from this progeny Ireland was peopled and divided into five parts. This expedition was undertaken by the father of the celebrated Caradog Brân, the blessed, who is supposed to have died eighty years after Christ. (*Camb. Biog. v. Brân.*)

(²⁷) “Et postea venerunt paulatim a partibus hispanie (*perhaps Hibernie*)—novissime.” The term *novissime* implies that the invasions here enumerated took place at no very remote era. They are most likely true; two of them are recognised in other sources. Of Istoreth I find nothing elsewhere. He was most likely one of the leaders of the Dal-raids. (The word here *Dalmeta*, is in Nennius, in Gale, and Selden, *Dalrieta*.)

(²⁸) “Buile tenuit cum suis Euboniam insulam.” The Isle

of Man, as before mentioned, was, in the age of Orosius, inhabited by Scots. "Scotorum gentibus colitur." (l. 1, c. 2.) "Filiū autem Liethali obtinuerunt regionem demaratorum, &c." This, like the last, probably relates to those predatory incursions of the Irish, the Scots, and the Picts, by which the coasts of Britain were harassed, from the Clyde to the Land's End; when the province of the Dimetæ (of which the counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardiganshire, may be considered as the common extent) are not likely to have escaped those ravages, "et alias provincias Guoher at Cetgueli," one in Caermarthen, the other in Glamorganshire.

Liethali, the Niall of the Irish, was a sovereign of those people when the invasion here mentioned was attempted. This expedition was undertaken between the years 380 and 396. The British historians state that it was principally composed of Irish Scots commanded by Sirigi. They were attacked and defeated by troops sent over by the Regent Stilicho during the minority of Honorius, who successfully guarded the Island of Britain from her incessant enemies of the ocean. (*Usser. Antig.* c. 15; *Gibbon*, vol. v. p. 228. *Clodian, Const. Stil.* l. 2. 250.) Our author assigns the merit of this victory to Canedda and his sons. I am favoured by Mr. O. Pughe with a copy of a very curious M.S. respecting this family and the events to which allusion is now made. It is prolix, but useful on this occasion. I will only premise, that as the dread of the Roman power declined with the retreat of the legions, hostile tribes from Caledonia and Ireland made incursions into Britain. With a policy peculiar to themselves, the Romans had permitted the kingly office in its ancient authority, to remain in many of the provinces of Britain. In the course of this period, two princely families had arisen into pre-eminence, above the rest of the British Reguli; who on the decline of the Roman power appeared in their ancient lustre, and attained that distinction which once belonged to their ancestors. These were the Cornich and the Cynethian dynasties. The former were derived from Bran-ap-Llyr, a Regulus of Cornwall, who was afterwards chosen King of Britain. From

this princely origin proceeded the illustrious names of Aurelius Ambrosius, Uthur Pendragon, Arthur, and Constantine, a line of heroes, who successively opposed the Saxon arms. The latter were sovereigns of the territory belonging to the Strath-Clyde Britons and of North Wales, and were descended from Coel, a northern prince, who by his marriage with the heiress of North Wales, became the sovereign of that principality. This union took place in the third century. Coel is the stock, to which many families trace their genealogies. From this line sprung Cunedda, surnamed Wledig, or the Illustrious, the hero now under discussion. (*Mona. Antiq. Res.* p. 162, *et seq.* *Camb. Biog.* v. *Coel. Warrington's Wales*, vol. i. p. 32.) From this digression I turn to Mr. Pughe's note. "I think that our historical period may be rendered tolerably connected, up to the departure of the Romans, by a careful use of the Triads, the accounts of the establishment of the early Christian societies in this island, and from hints in the poetry, genealogies, &c." "The manuscript, which gives an account of the establishment of Christian societies, particularises the sons Cuneza (*Cunedda*) who died about the close of the fourth century, as having retreated to Wales from the North, owing to the molestation of the Scots from Ireland; and it records also the retreat of the sons of Can, from the same region, about the middle of the sixth century; of these, Gildas or Aneurin was one. The MS. is to this purport:—The tribe of Cuneza Wledig. Cuneza, son of Edeyrn, son of Padarn with the crimson coat, son of Tegid, son of Iago, son of Genedawg, son of Enweryz, son of Onwez, son of Dwywg, son of Rhygwain, son of Owain, son of Avellec, son of Avelec, son of Luz, son of Beli the great supreme of the isle of Britain. The mother of Cuneza Wledig was Gwawl, daughter of Coel Godebawg. Cuneza Wledig sent his sons to Gwyrez (*North Wales*) against the Gwyzelians (*the Irish Scots*) who had come there with Sirigi the Gwyzelian, into Môn (*Anglesey*) and other places, so that they had obtained the greater part of that country from the inhabitants, from their not having any as princes over them. So the sons of Cuneza led on.

the Cymry, and they sent the Gwyzelians out of the country; others they killed; and those to whom their souls were given were made slaves."

"Thereupon the men of Gwynez, gave possession to those princes, of the lands that they had won: not otherwise than these: The distribution follows: Meirion, Arwystyli, Ceredigion, Duvnoding, Edeyrnion, Maecleryz, Dogveiling, Rhuvoniawg, Os-wellion, that is to say, the town Oswall's Cross (*Oswestry*.) The expulsion of the Scots and Picts from the Isle of Môn; (*Anglesey*) is thus described in the same MS. Cynyr, Meilyr, and Meigir, the sons of Gwron, son of Cuneza, went with Caswallon, the long-handed, their cousin, to chase the Gwyzelians and Fictiads (*Picts*) out of the Isle of Môn, where they had taken flight from the sons of Cuneza; and having strengthened themselves in that island, after a cruel conflict, they drove the Gwyzelians out of Môn; and Caswallon, the long-handed, slew Serigi the Gwyzel there with his own hand; that is to say, this Serigi was the leader of the Gwyzelians and Fictiads, who subdued Gwynez, from the time of the Emperor Maxen (*Maximus*) Wledig. So after driving the strangers out of Môn, the Cymry became courageous, and drove them from every other place in Gwynez; and there staid in the country only such of them as were made slaves. And thus the tribe of Cuneza obtained a sovereignty over Wales; and his sons obtained the countries before mentioned. And Caswallon, the long-handed, son of Einion Yrth, son of Cuneza, built a church to God, in the place where he gained the victory over his enemies, and he called it Llan y Gwyzel; and that is in Môn."

Thus the forces under Buile, who had seized the island of Môn and North Wales, were attacked, defeated, and driven out of those districts. While the sons of Liethali seem to have made incursions in South Wales.

(⁹⁹) "obtinuerunt regionem demotorum, et alias provincias quoque et ceteraque:" In Bertram and Gale, after the word "demotorum"—"ubi Civitas est quae vocatur Mineu" is inserted in a parenthesis. Mineu is Menevia, or St. Davids—"nor is

the word Menau yet forgotten." (*Camdæt, Penbrokeshire*, note 6. p. 635.) "Gwber et cedweli." Among the various copies which I have consulted, I have found Guimelgwell, Gwyr Cydweli, Guir a Chedweli, Gower et Kedweli, names, of which nothing can be satisfactorily made. The author probably wrote Cair Cydweli, the modern Kidwelly, situated on each side of the river Gwendraeth, a small distance from the shore of Caermarthen Bay. Allowing this emendation, the passage is intelligible. These invaders made incursions into Pembroke and Caermarthenshire, counties which were a part of the province Dimetia. The event by which South Wales was freed from the Scots and Picts, is recorded in another part of the M.S. just quoted. "Uvien Reged obtained the sovereignty of a part of Glamorgan and Caermarthen, by driving the Irish from thence, about the time they were driven out of North Wales by Caswallon."

(99). "Miki perit Scottorum mentiaverunt—
Eos autem vir nobilis de Scithia."

The Scythic origin of the Irish-Scots has been handed down as a favourite tradition. The term Scythian has always been applied with great latitude, both by ancient writers, and those of the middle ages. Pliny (A. C. 12.) says, the name of Scyth was given to those people who inhabited climates unknown to the rest of the world. The Greeks seem to have applied it commonly to nomadic tribes. "From Western Scythia, which answers in general to the Ukraine, the country of the Nogai-Tatars, the Don Cossacks, &c. (its first river on the west being the Danube, and the last on the east, the Tansis or Don); proceeded immense swarms in every direction; and the name of Scythian is to be recognised for centuries after the Christian era, in the scattered colonies settled in many parts of Greece, Italy, and other countries lying upon the Mediterranean Sea. Thus the lesser Syrtis, the lake Tritonis of Herodotus, situated opposite to Malta and Sicily, was entirely surrounded by nomadic tribes" (Brewer, p. 607.) Rumours of these supposed peregrinations may have laid the foundation for the dispersion now

under consideration, and of which, the Irish-Scots may have claimed a share. It may be remarked, that in Tysilio and Jeffery, the route now traced was not made by the Trojan Brutus, but by the "Vir nobilis de Scythia," as is here described.

(³¹) "Ad aras Philistinorum,"—for Philassoruma.—The same error occurs in the earliest copies of Tysilio, where the word is Felystynion; in Jeffery, it is Phylstewydyon. The Aras Philistinorum are well known in ancient history, and a legend framed respecting them is to be found both in Sallust (*De Bell. Jug.*) and Valerius Maximus. (l. 4. s. 4.) Nor have they escaped the notice of modern travellers, who describe them as "situated to the south east of the greater Syrtis, where the road makes a wide detour between Tripoli and Cyrene." (Rennel, p. 651.) They are mounds of earth, probably tumuli, which marked the limits of the Carthaginian kingdom on the east. Tumuli were anciently called altars, as Αλτάρε "on the winding banks of the Tanais near Azof." (Ptolem. Geog. l. 9. c. 5.) Clarke's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 316.

(³²). "per lacum salinarum." In the English translation of Jeffery "the lake of Willows," an error, in which, however, the author is supported by the British original. "Both hills and beds of salt do exist in the country between Tripoli and Mauritania; the soil is so generally impregnated with it, that it sends forth a great number of salt springs; and there are other vast lakes of salt in various parts of the country. (Rennel, p. 641.) "The salt pits near Arzow, (probably those to which allusion is now made) lie surrounded with mountains, and take up an area of about six miles in compass. They appear like a large lake in winter. In the like manner, we find the Salines between Carthage and the Guletta. (Shaw's *Travels*, p. 84, and 147.) In Alfred's Orosius, (b. 1. c. 1. p. 23) *lacus Salinarum* is more properly rendered, "the salt mere of Arzages."

(³³) "Inter Rusiducam et montem Syrin." Rusiduc, the Stora and Astoria of the modern sea charts, was

one of the principal cities of Numidia, and which Pliny describes as forty-eight miles from Cirta, the capital of the Sittii, of which, I suppose, the word Syrise a corruption. Cirta Sittianorum (viz. a militibus Sittianis) cognomine. (*Plin. l. 5. c. 3.*)

(²⁴) "Flumen Malva." Now the Maltiva. It flows into the Mediterranean, opposite the Bay of Almeria, in Spain; and separates Numidia from Mauritanie.

(²⁵). "Ad annum quantum Mermini regis." Merfyn Frych, is the sovereign here meant. He was the King of the Isle of Man, who having married Easylt, the daughter of Cynan Tindoethwy, succeeded in consequence to the government of North Wales, in the year 817. He was killed A. D. 843, by Berthrid, King of Mercia. (*Capl. Biog. v. Merfyn.*) A short cessation of Danish inroads, gave leisure to Berthred, the tributary sovereign of Mercia, to renew hostilities against the Welsh; and a severe battle was fought by the two princes, at a place (called Kettel) upon the frontiers; in which Mervyn, the King of North Wales, was slain. He was succeeded by Roderic his eldest son. (*Chron. Saxon. p. 75. Warrington's Wales, vol. i. p. 210. Usser. Antiq. c. 12. p. 217.*)

(²⁶) "Aliud experimentum inveni de isto Brutone." Mark having given the origin of Brutus, as it appeared "in annalibus romanis," and that of the Irish-Scots, which the "periti Scottorum" communicated to him, now adduces two genealogies: one derived "ex antiquis libris nostrorum;" the other "ex traditione veterum," on which the dynasty of the Trojan hero is grafted.

(²⁷) "Pervenit in ostio fluminis tamensis, in quo naufragium naves illius perpessae sunt. Dum ille pugnaret apud dolo bellum; qui erat proconsul brytanici reges qui et ipse rex Belinus vocabatur, et erat minocanni filius, qui occupavit omnes insulas terreni maris. Et iulus reversus est, sine victoria; cressis militibus fractisque navibus." Caesar has described his

landing in Britain with considerable accuracy. The *ostium Tamensis*, may, however, be understood in the same enlarged sense, (*Antiq. Rutupinae*, s. 39.) as the Ostium of the Barry, which is said to commence at Wormshead point. (*Camden, Glamorganire*, p. 617.) Ptolemy extends the estuary of the Thames as far northward as Idumania, or Blackwater Bay, Essex. There is in Whitaker's Manchester a curious note (v. 1, Appendix XL.) principally composed from Richard; Camden; Somner and Batteley, describing the ancient state of the Rutupian harbour, and the changes it has subsequently undergone.

(³⁸) "Apud dolo bellum." Apud Doror bellam, contra Dolobellum. (*Selden. Gale.*) Apud Dolobellum. (*Bertram.*) That Cæsar landed at Deale, called by Nennius, Dole,—Cæsar ad Dole Bellum pugnavit: (*Camden, Kent*, p. 203.) The whole of the passage now quoted is embarrassed, apparently from the admission of a marginal note. I conceive this embarrassment to have arisen from a remarkable interpolation, for if we suspend the sentence at "bellum," and resume it again at "et Jullus," it will be more intelligible. "He came to the mouth of the river Thames, in which his ships suffered while he fought (we suppose) at Deal, and Julius returned without victory; his forces being slain, and his vessels shattered. I think myself justified in proposing this change, from this circumstance: in Bertram's copy, wherever a marginal note is admitted into the text, it is placed in a parenthesis, and printed in italics; and this is the case with "Qui erat Proconsul Brytannici regis qui et ipse rex Belinus vocabatur, et erat minocanni filius, qui occupavit omnes insulas terreni maris." Rex Belinus is here called the son of Minocannus, which can only refer to Beli Maur, or the great, who died before the invasion of Cæsar. The Beli here particularised, and who opposed the Roman army, was, on the contrary, the youngest son of the former, the cassibelinus, or head of the Cassii, and the celebrated Caswallon of the Britains. (*Camb. Biog. Caswallon.*) "Ninbius, the British writer, does not say Cassibelinus, but Bellinus; as if that was the

proper appellation either of his person or dignity ; nor ought it to seem strange that princes heretofore took their names from the people whom they governed, &c. for thus the Catti, in Germany, had their Cattimarus : the Teutones, their Teutomarus and Teutobachus ; the Daci, their Decebelius ; the Goths, their Gotisoo." (*Catden, Buckinghamshire*, p. 278.) Minocannus a latinisation of Manogan (*Cam. Biog.*) we may presume was a native term, for we meet with a Minocynnibellus in Orosius (l. 7, c. 5) under Caligula, who was the recreant son of the reigning British sovereign.

(³⁹) The term Proconsul may be thus explained. Beli Miser had three issue Llydd and Cassibelanus ; the former succeeded to the dignities of his father, and died leaving two sons Afarwy and Terevan, both young.

Afarwy (who in a triad is stigmatized as one of the three most disgraceful men of Britain, for betraying his country to the Romans) was the Androgeus of Tysilio ; of Bede, the Mandubratius ; (H.E. l. 1, c. 2) and of Orosius, the Androgeus. (l. 6, c. 9.) As these princes were not of mature age (Mandubratius is called by Caesar "Adolescens") their uncle Cassibelanus was chosen in this season of peril, to govern during their minority. There is a triad, in which he is styled one of the three conventional princes by privilege. This accords with the testimony of Caesar (l. 5. c. 9) "summis imperii bellique administrandi, communis coticilia permixa est Cassivelauno." Thus was Cassibelanus setting in the important office of substitute or vice-roy, and in the law sense in which the word was used during the middle ages, he may be said to have been Proconsul, or, as expressed in the next sentence, Consul, in the invasions by Caesar.

(⁴⁰) "Post spatiis trienni' annorum."

Most of our oldest chronicles are under the same mistake. The first expedition of Caesar happened in the consulate of Gaius Pompeius and Marcus Licinius Crassus, or fifty-five years B.C. ; the second, the year following, during that of L. Dom. Enobarbus and Appius Claudius.

(4). "superdictus consul posuerat sudes ferreos
semeneque bellicosum id est cathilon."

"Cathilon, from Céth (s. m.) that which is of a penetrating nature. Cethyr (s. m.) a spike or long nail. As to Cathilon, the word may be the same with our Cothri; Cethrau, from the singular Cethys, which, without dropping y would be Cethyrus, i.e. spikes or stakes: for which we might use Cethylus by the analogy of our language, but I do not remember seeing the latter word." (O. P. MS.)

(5). "In vada fluminiis."

The attempt to ascertain the spot where Caesar crossed the Thames has, at different periods, engaged the attention of the antiquary. The research has been embarrassed by the assertion of Caesar, that it was traversed by him at the only place where it was fordable. Thus without considering how high Caesar could have proceeded with his forces up the stream in a limited time, or without properly attending to the changes which the lapse of ages must have produced in the shifting materials, which form the bed of a large river, it seems to have been the aim, to search for a shallow, and accommodate opinion to that discovery. The Emperor, however, had no opportunity of proving the fact he asserts; he received the report from others; perhaps from those who had an interest in deceiving him. Fallacious as this testimony may be, it has been generally received as authentic. It was so admitted by Orosius: (I. 5, c. 9) "Inde ad flumen Thamsem profectus est, quem uno tectum loco vadis transversalium ferunt." So far back as the ninth century, a fordable passage was localised by our ancestors; for Alfred, in his paraphrastic version of Orosius, (Barrington's edition, p. 194) has thus rendered this quotation: "His third battle with the Bryttonæ was near the river that men call the Tameæ, near those fords which are called Welingford, after which not only all the inhabitants of Cynneastræ submitted, but the whole island." Barrington proposes Dorchester rather than Cirencester, as the former is so near Wallingford. "It is from this passage that Bishop Kennet (*Par. Antiq.*) hath insisted, that Caesar's army

faded the Thames at Wallingford, and not at Coway stakes;" (n. p. 194) but Coway stakes (Laleham; near Oatlands) which were so long fixed upon, prove no other than the remains of an old fishing wear.

Smith, in a note on Bede, (l. 1, c. 2) observes that the Thames is fordable at Brentford, Kingston, and Chertsey. Horsley (*Brit. Rom.* p. 14) thinks the passage was somewhere in the turn of the river near Kingston, where it runs North and South, and where as he was "well informed that the water is fordable at several places, not being more than five feet deep."

"Early in the reign of James the First, this important subject engaged the attention of the legislature, when an act passed for regulating the navigation of the Thames westward of London, which has been amended by several later statutes. And thus, by clearing the passage, and keeping up the banks, the stream has obtained a more uniform depth than it had before. But notwithstanding these precautions, a considerable shoal presents itself at Sunbury, where the river, in summer and dry seasons, is so shallow, that barges laden only three feet deep are incapable of passing; at such times it is not uncommon to see thirty barges or more detained from ten to twelve or fourteen days." (*Colquhoun's River Police*, p. 496.)

"About half a mile below this bridge (Battersea), and within view of it, and opposite the late scite of Ranelagh, stands a noted tea-drinking house, called the Red House, and about fifty yards on this western side of it, is the place at which Cæsar crossed the Thames. The reader who has read Stukeley's reasons for fixing on Chertsey as the place of this celebrated passage, may startle at the positive assertion here made. Stukeley says, that the name of Chertsey is all Cæsar; so also is Chelsea, by analogies equally natural. London, or Lyn-dun, was then the chief town in South Britain, and would, as a matter of course, be the place towards which the Britons would retreat, and the Romans advance. Landing too near Deal, they would cross the river at the ford nearest the place of landing, and would not be likely to march to Chertsey, if they could cross at Chelsea. The marshes of the Thames too, where the Britons retreated,

would correspond better with the marshes of Lambeth and Battersea, than with the low land near Chertsey, where the river is inconsiderable, and where there is no tide to confer strength and military character on the marshes. This ford from the Red House to the Bank near the scite of Ranelagh still remains. At ordinary low water, a shoal of gravel, broad enough for ten men to walk abreast, not three feet deep, extends across the river, except on the Surrey side, where it has been deepened by the raising of ballast, within the recollection of living watermen; indeed the causeway from the south bank, may be traced at low water: so that this was doubtless a ford to the peaceful Britons, across which the British army retreated before the Romans, and across which they were doubtless followed by Cæsar and the Roman legions." (*Monthly Magazine*, June 1813, p. 409.)

From these authorities, it may be safely concluded that in the time of Cæsar, the Thames was fordable in more places than one.

There are evidences also, which favour the opinion that the passage under investigation was near London.

Cæsar asserts that the territories of Cassibelinus, were separated by the river Thames from the maritime states 80 miles from the sea. "Cujus fines (Cassivellauni) a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum 80. (l. 5.) Now though Cæsar (l. 4) owns himself ignorant of the topography of Britain, he could not be so of the distance he had traversed from the Rutupian harbour.

In the itinerary of Antonine, Rutupia is seventy-seven miles from London, according to the course of the military way. The eastern limits separating the Cassii from the Trinobantes, is acknowledged to have been near the metropolis, the ancient Trinovantum. Cæsar says he crossed the Thames, "in fines Cassivellauni," and it is reasonable to suppose, at the first shallow which opened to the territories of that prince, and it appears probable there was one near the eastern boundary. When the ford was attempted, the natives were seen drawn up in military array on the opposite shore, to oppose the landing of the Romans; and it is inconsistent to suppose that the fierce and intrepid

Britons, should abandon their country to the enemy without a contest. Cæsar, however, (whose commentaries have incurred the censure of Pollius Asinius "parum diligenter, parumque integra veritate compositos") allows no such resistance, and only admits that his foragers were annoyed by skirmishing parties from the woods. Mark, on the contrary, says there was a battle, and points out the district, which is important on this occasion. It was fought, "juxta locum qui dicitur trinovantum."

(¹⁵) "Et Julius victor, imperium Brytanicae gentis obtinuit."

Materials both for proving the truth and extent of this assumption, as well as for ascertaining the degree of intercourse between the Britons and the Romans, during the century that lapsed between the departure of Julius and the invasion under Claudius, are scantily afforded both by national tradition and classic authors. In a system of politics, complex as that which existed in the British tribes, incessant conflicts must have prevailed among the chiefs. It was the insidious policy of the Romans to foment intestine animosities, in countries within the grasp of their ambition, "Vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges." (*Tacit. V. Agric.* c. 14.) And it was customary in after times for persons of distinction, who were banished or obliged to fly from this island, to seek an asylum in the court of Rome. Thus were the successes of Julius facilitated by the defection of Androgeus; and in a subsequent period, that of Adminius secured him the protection of Caligula. (*Sueton. v. Calig.* c. 44.) Others were bribed into adherence; the fall of Caractacus and the subjugation of Britain were hastened by influence, and the British Cogidunus was rewarded by Aulus Plautius with additional territory, for his attachment to the Romans.

Cæsar on his departure carried with him certain hostages, and imposed a tribute, but left no garrison; nor had the Romans any station or settlement here till the reign of Claudius. The British writers acknowledge a census; the 21st Triad expresses three thousand pieces of silver. An ancient record printed in the

Monasticon of Dugdale, informs us, that through the intercession of Androgen, Cassibelanus was permitted to retain his kingdom, on condition of paying the annual tribute of a denier for each messuage in his lands: neither of these accounts are very consistent. The British Reguli, intimidated perhaps by rumours of an attack on their country meditated by Augustus, as alluded to by Horace, (l. 3, Ode 5) dispatched messengers to Rome with presents, thereby hoping to conciliate the friendship of the Emperor; in consequence of which, nearly the whole island was included in an amicable intercourse. A sort of commercial treaty was settled between the two countries. Exports and imports were agreed upon with Gaul, and the protection of Rome was secured to the traders of Britain. (*Strabo*, l. 4, p. 200. *Edit. Casaub.*) Another source of communication through the interference of artists, may be mentioned. No coins have been discovered decidedly of higher date than Cunobeline. Rude as many of these are, they are obviously of Roman workmanship or imitation. The devices and heads, as well as the inscriptions of many of them, are Roman.

(⁴⁴) “In Curia occiditur.” There was no edifice exclusively appropriated to the meetings of the senate in ancient Rome. From early times it was convened in a temple, or some convenient place consecrated for that purpose by the augurs, either within or without the city. (*Aul. Gell.* 14-7.) Cæsar was assassinated in the Curia of Pompey, where the senate in times of public spectacle, frequently assembled for the convenience of the people. (*Rossi*. tom. i. p. 139.) It was in the Campus Martius, where some remains of it are supposed to exist, near the church of St. Andrea della Valle.

(⁴⁵) “Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea Brytanni.”

“Hoc secundum historiam est locutus. Nam Augustus post quam vicit Britanniam, plurimos de captivis quos adduxerat, donavit ad officia theatalia: dedit etiam aulæa, id est velamina in quibus depinxerat *victorias suas*, et quemadmodum *Britanni ab eo Donati*, eadem vela portarent: quæ ne vere portare con-

sueverant, quam rem mira expressit ambiguitate, dicens *intexti tollant.* Nam in velis ipsi erant picti qui eadem vela portabant, &c. &c." (*Servius Georg.* 3, l. 25.) Hangings interwoven with figures, or plain, were much used by the Grecians and Romans, both for use and ornament, in their houses, temples, palaces, and theatres. They were suspended over many of the door ways of the latter, and were seen in many of the designs in the Vatican Terence; as they at present are over the portals of the churches in Italy, which are lifted up by attendants as you enter; once, perhaps, the employment of the British slaves. The curious reader is referred to the 25th Dissertation of Muratori, (*Dell' arte del Tessere, &c.*)

(46). "—post hunc Claudius.—In tempore illius nullum Romanis censum sicut traditum a Brytaniâ sed imperatoribus Brytanicis redditum est."

This sentence is, in Gale, differently expressed: "In tempore illius *quievit* dari censem Romanis à Britannia, sed Britannicis imperatoribus *redditum* est." Pegge proposes the substitution of *assuevit*, for *quievit*, hence implying, "that in the reign of Claudius tribute began to be paid from this island to the Romans." (*Coin of Cunobeline*, p. 31.)

From the reign of Claudius, Britain must be considered as a Roman province. A military force was stationed, regular imposts were settled, and officers were distributed throughout the greater part of the island for collecting them. The subjugation of Britain commenced under Aulus Plautius, A. 42. The year following, Claudius came over, pursued the victories of his legate, and received the submission of the natives.

In the civil and military establishments of the island, we find two municipal, nine colonial, twelve stipendiary cities, and ten on which were conferred the rights of Latium (*Richard*, l. 1. c. 7.) As in other provinces, the legions became permanent, and the island was peopled by a race of soldiers, who usually settled with their families, in the country where they had spent their youth. The native Reguli of Britain, from whatever reason, had embraced the cause of Rome, and were rewarded with a

nominal alliance and some solid advantages. In the municipal cities, the officers assumed the quality of Roman citizens. Those who performed any public services, together with the people generally, were remunerated;—“when all the provincials became liable to the peculiar impositions of Roman citizens, they seemed to acquire a legal exemption from the tributes, which they had paid in their former condition as subjects.” (*Gibbon*, vol. i. p. 267.) This, I conceive, was now the situation of Britain, and hence the expression, “*In tempore illius nullum Romanis censum*,” &c. may be explained.

(⁴⁷) “*Cujus monumentum in moguntia apud longobardos ostenditur, dum ad romam iret ibi defunctus est.*”

The personage here alluded to, is Drusus Nero Claudius, the father of the Emperor Claudius. (*Sueton. Vit. Claud.* c. 1.) From having signalized himself in the wars in Germany, the name of Germanicus was conferred on his family. He died in that country; his body was brought to Rome, and a cenotaph was raised to his memory on the banks of the Rhine. (*Dio*, p. 544.) It existed in the time of Eutropius, “*Monstratur adhuc Monumentum Drusi Moguntiae per modum pyrae.*” (*L. 3, c. 4.*)

(⁴⁸) “*Lucius bryttanicus rex, cum omnibus regulis totius bryttanicæ gentis baptismum suscepit.*”

Every detail relative to King Lucius, his conversion to the Christian faith, and the baptism of all the Britains, are to be found in Usher (*Antiq.* c. 4.) and in the notes of the Variorum edition of Athanasius, (*De Vit. Pontif. Roman.* 4 tom. fol. Rom. 1718-1735); nor have the conjectures of later ecclesiastical writers thrown additional light on this event. The Cambrian MSS. indeed, which have been explored of late years, present a mass of information on subjects referable to our national antiquities, and among others the event now alluded to. The historical Triads and Genealogies, thus identify the lineage of King Lucius: Bran, Caradog, (Caractacus) Cyllin Sant, Coel,

Lucius, (Lleirwg Lleaver Mawr, Lies). (*Camb. Biog.* under these names respectively.)

Caractacus, (the great-grandfather of Lucius) perfidiously given up to his enemies, was, with his brothers, wife and daughter, friends and servants, carried prisoners to Rome. (*Tacitus*, l. 12. c. 36.) Had this event been found in the british records alone, the fact might have been questioned. From them we are informed, that Caractacus, with all his family, in which Bran, his father, and Cyllin Sant his son, are particularised, were carried to Rome. Tacitus is silent both as to the result and the period of their detention; but from our domestic sources we learn, that after seven years, they were allowed to revisit their native land. The advantages derived to their country from this captivity, are enumerated in the Cambrian Biography, under the names of Bran, Coel, Morddal, Coruinwr Cyllin, but the most important was the introduction of Christianity. At Rome, these unfortunate exiles could not but admire the virtues of the Christians who abounded in that city; and who, both by their public and private conduct, exemplified the doctrine they professed. They must have been edified by observing the contrast between their primitive and simple manners, and the depraved habits of their pagan oppressors. Alive to every source of consolation which could soften the pains of banishment, it is natural to suppose that they sought refuge in doctrines which assured the glorious hope of immortality, and mentally administered freedom to the captive. The new faith was at that time acknowledged and revered, in some of the principal families in Rome; and there were "saints in Cæsar's household." The epistles of St. Paul were received (A. 58) during the detention of these Britains, who must have been conversant with his disciples, as enumerated in the sixteenth chapter, among whom were Andronicus and Junius, who were once fellow prisoners with St. Paul on account of the gospel, and who had been converted to Christianity before him: Aquila and Priscilla his attendants for several years, both in Corinth and Ephesus, and who on their return to Rome made their own house a place of resort for the Christian communities in Rome.

If this tradition be true, the deportation of this family to Rome, and its long continuance there, must be regarded as an interposition of Providence; since means were thereby furnished of learning the Roman language, and a facility obtained, of diffusing Christianity in their native country on their return.

From *Tertullian*, who was nearly contemporary with Lucius, we learn that in Britain obedience to Christ was acknowledged, in districts which were inaccessible to the Roman arms: "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo subdita." (*Adv. Jud.* c. 7.) The successes of the missionary in any country, must depend principally on an intimate knowledge of the language of those it is his business to convert; else why was the gift of tongues once miraculously imparted? *Irenaeus*, the apostle of the Gauls, and who like Lucius received his mission from Pope Eleutherius, complains that he was under the necessity of learning the rude and barbarous dialect of the country, before he could confer any benefit on his flock. (*Cave's Lives*, vol. i. p. 167.) The house of Bran is said to have transmitted Christianity to its descendants. Eigen, the daughter of Caractacus, is the earliest British female saint. In one of the historical Triads, Bran is associated with Lucius and Cadwaladyr, as one of the three blessed sovereigns of the island of Britain. In another, the family of Bran ranks with those of Brychan and Cunedda, under the appellation of the three holy lineages of Britain. As the Romans extended their conquests in this island, they erected stations for their legions, and constructed cities for the Britains. The lands assigned to the legionaries uniformly descended to their heirs, who were trained to the profession of their forefathers, and enjoyed them as military tenures from the emperors.

After the Roman subjugation, many of these chiefs were allowed to continue their several principalities, and internal economy was arranged, according to ancient usage and the circumstances of the times. Further, "the natives retained their own language. This appears from the works of the ancient bards; Aneurion, for instance, who was an Ottadinian of the fourth, Lywarç Hen (a prince of Argoed) a Cumbrian of the sixth century, wrote in their vernacular tongue, making use of the

dialect spoken near the wall of Severus, the boundary of their respective territories ; and the language now spoken in North Wales, is the same which prevailed generally at the recess of the Romans." (O. P. MS.)

From a variety of causes, both civil and ecclesiastical, the Bishop of Rome soon obtained the respect, and eventually, the obedience of the latin churches. In the second century, the language of exhortation was not changed to that of command, nor was he then regarded as the Metropolitan of the West ; yet we learn from early authorities, and from the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Justin the Martyr in particular, that he was referred to both by pious individuals and by distant communities of Christians,* in cases which required attainments and experience superior to their own ; and whether advice or assistance was imparted, a solicitude was evinced which conciliated affection and invited confidence.

That the seeds of the Gospel were already scattered in Britain, and that they were cultivated by the virtuous family of Bran and his followers on their return from Rome, we may venture to believe, and that intercourse with their christian associates in that city was continued : but that all the Reguli of Britain were so enlightened, or so unanimous to receive baptism at the same time, under the grandson of Caractacus, is a point which must rest with the opinion of the reader.

Objections have been urged against the probability of an application to Rome at this remote period, but surely without foun-

* " Dans les tems du Pape Anicet, vers l'an 158, St. Polycarpe, Evêque de Smyrne, fit un voyage à Rome pour régler sur ce point la discipline ecclésiastique, et la rendre uniforme (the celebration of Easter) dans toutes les Eglises. Ces deux saints Evêques, après avoir consié ensemble, ne purent s'accorder, aucun d'eux ne voulant se départir des usages établis dans son Eglise dès le commencement. Mais ils concordrent de ne point rompre les liens de la charité et de la communion, pour ce point de discipline. Ils se séparèrent en paix ; et cette paix étoit commune à toutes les Eglises qui célébraient la Pâque, ou le quatorzième jour de la lune, ou le Dimanche d'après." (Histoire Lit. de la France, tom. i. pt. 1, p. 241.) In turning over the pages of Ecclesiastical History, the Christian will ask with a sigh,—Pourquoi n'a-t-on pas toujours suivi l'exemple d'Anicet????

dation. One to Anicetus, who died a few years only before the election of Eleutherius, is here noticed; and we know that an embassy to the latter was dispatched from the churches of Gaul in favour of Irenæus. (*Euseb.* l. 5. c. 4.)

We cannot, therefore, conceive any difficulty in believing there was one from the Britains also to the same Pope.

The mission of Lucius is placed A. 167. Eleutherius, however, was not elected Bishop of Rome till 171; he enjoyed his episcopal honours fifteen years, or from the eleventh of Marcus Aurelius to the sixth year of Commodus. (*Muratori Annali.*) By every account, the reign of Eleutherius was active and prosperous; —“Nel tempo e Pontificato di Eleutherio, stette la Chiesa quieta, e in pace, e ne accrebbe, e si stese maravigliosamente per tutto il mondo il nome christiano, &c.”—(*Platina*, v. *Eleuth.* p. 35.) The elogium here expressed, is not indeed without some allowance applicable to the former of these emperors, whose reign was, upon the whole, unfavourable to the diffusion of christianity; and during which, the christians of Gaul, and of Vienne, and Lyons in particular, endured the most cruel persecution. But, in the reign of Commodus, the church suffered very little in comparison. A period of tranquillity and toleration was most favourable to the diffusion and establishment of christianity, and the only one which occurs during the episcopacy of Eleutherius seems to have been that, when the Caledonians were conquered and driven back beyond the walls of Antoninus. (*Horsley*, p. 53. n.)

What I have advanced on this occasion may at best be deemed hypothetical; and I leave the further discussion to those, who, by attainments and perseverance, are better capable of weighing the credibility of these ancient authorities.

(¹⁹) “id est per centena xxxii milia passuum deduxit, et britanica sermone vocatur gaul.”

The erroneous extension of one hundred and thirty-two miles here assigned to the wall of Seværus, has been adopted by the Latin authors generally, though the isthmus across which it was built, is at most eighty miles. Consult Turner, (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 115) or the jarring and contradictory details respecting

the northern walls. It is also found in the chronicon prefixed to Bede's history: ("per cxxxii millia passuum a mari usque ad mare deduxit.") Bede, however, lived too near the wall to authorize a mistake, occasioned by a faulty copier; or else the Chronicon itself may be a subsequent addition, for it does not accompany Alfred's translation.

An interpolated passage in most of the copies of the "Historia Brittonum," also exhibits the further progress of error. The following are the northern pretences constructed by the Romans.

1st. The forts of Agricola, constructed of turf across the Isthmus between Clyde and the Forth in the years 70 and 79. They formed a line of about thirty-seven miles in length. They were repaired, A. 140, by Lollius Urbicus, under Antoninus Pius; these forts were fenced with walls and ditches, some parts of which still remain. Thus fortified by a series of stations, it reached from Carron, upon the Frith of Forth, to Dunglas, upon the Frith of Clyde; running by Falkirk Camelon, Kirkentelloch, and old Kirkpatrick.

2nd. The agger of Hadrian, (A. 117, 138.) was of turf also; and extended across the island from the mouth of the Tine, to the Solway Frith, and was about eighty miles in length. The wall of Severus, built after he had subdued the Caledonians and established peace, (208) was of stone. It is commensurate with the last, and runs nearly parallel with it. "The nearest distance is about twenty yards, the greatest near a mile, the medium forty or fifty yards." (Hutton's *Roman Wall*, p. 177.) The interpolated passage alluded to above, follows the word Gaaul. "Gual per 132 millaria passus id est à Pengaaul, quæ villa Scoticè Cenail, Anglice vero penultimum dicitur, usque ad ostium Fluminis Cluth et Cairpentaloeh, quo murus illi finitur rustico opere. Severus ille praeditus construxit, sed nihil profuit." The interpolator here adapts the assigned extent of the wall of Severus to the topography of that of Antoninus.

(¹⁰) "Scotti ab occidente et picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra brytones."

These two formidable races, the Scots and the Picts, are here properly localised, though they are not recognised in Caledonia, till long after the period now referred to. The successes obtained over them by Severus, is satisfactorily ascertained. (*Horsley*, p. 58; 64.) Having reduced them to terms of peace, A. 208, the wall known by his name was then begun; in 210, he died at York; Geta and Caracalla his sons left Britain the year after. This barrier was useful in repressing hostilities, and a period of tranquillity is presumed, from the silence of writers, for more than seventy years. During this interval, we are scarcely acquainted with the names of the Roman governors in Britain. Some few inscriptions have indeed been found, and from coins, five or six of the thirty tyrants, which in the reign of Gallienus⁽¹⁾ (259, 268) disturbed the peace of the empire, it has been supposed, that they acted a part in this island, though too unimportant to be recorded in history. This silence was interrupted under Dioclesian, (284) when,

(¹) "Quartus fuit caritius imperator et tirannus." Carausius, a Manapian (*Eumenius, Pan. 9.*) of low extraction, but of great intrepidity and naval experience, was intrusted with the command of a number of ships, to repress the piratical incursions of the Franks and Saxons, then becoming formidable to the coasts of Britain. The advantages gained by Carausius on the seas, the command of the mouths of the Seine and the Rhine, the possession of Boulog and the adjacent country, were steps to the successful usurpations of Britain. Having obtained this object of his ambition, he for seven years conducted himself with courage and ability. He defended the frontiers of his dominions against the Caledonians of the north, invited from the continent great numbers of skilful artists, and displayed on a variety of coins that are still extant, his taste and opulence. (*Gibbon*, vol. ii. c. 13. p. 125.) Tysilio says, he (*Caron*) made the Picts, who lately came out of Scythia, his confederates, and settled them in Scotland. (l. 5.) According to the interpolated passage, that accompanies the copies of Nennius, Bertram (c. 19.), Carausius rebuilt the wall of Severus, fortified it with seven castles; he also built a

round house (supposed to have been the edifice called Arthur's oven,) (*Gough's Camden*, vol. iii. p. 356, and 363) on the banks of the Carron, to which he gave his own name; he also built a triumphal arch in memory of some victory." That it was the wall of Severus, which Carausius rebuilt and embellished, we know to be untrue; and Nennius contradicts himself, by saying it was on the Carron. If the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, as they now appear, could be relied upon, allusions to this wall, and the operations of Carausius (Caros) on the banks of the Carron, are therein recognised. (War of Caros, and critical dissertation concerning the *Æra* of Ossian.) The scene is near the "mossy rock of Crone," a small stream which runs into the Carron; and while Caros is employed in repairing ancient barriers, or erecting new works for obstructing the incursions of the Caledonians, he seems to have been attacked by a party of the latter, under the command of Oscar, the son of Ossian. "What does Caros, king of ships? said the son of the now mournful Ossian—spreads he the wings (the Roman eagle) of his pride, bard of the times of old? He spreads them, Oscar, replied the bard, but it is behind his gathered heap, (Agricola's wall repaired)—he looks over his stones with fear. He beholds thee terrible, as the ghost of night, that rolls the wave to his ships." (*Poems of Ossian*, p. 95, and *Preface*, p. viii. Quarto, 1762.) Whitaker (*Hist. of Manchester*, vol. i. p. 455, 462.) has criticised this passage. He supposes Caros to be Carus, the admiral of the Roman navy, stationed at Rutupæ, and quotes Richard (p. 17) as his authority: the name of Carus, however, is not there to be found.

(¹⁹) "in Brytaniam venit—quia iratus pro occisione Severi—vindicavit in illis Severum."

We know that the death of Severus was natural, though it might have been accelerated by exhaustion and sorrow, his last words were, "Turbatam rempublicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquon." (*Script. Hist. Aug.* p. 364.) The contrary is a British tradition. "Fulgentius having been active in procuring the assistance of the Picts, collected from Scythia all

the forces of that country, and besieged York.¹⁷ Severus was killed in the conflict: (Jeffery, b. 5. c. 2.) "Severus was killed and buried at York." (Tysilio. Collec. Camb. vol. i. p. 92.) A Pictis perempto réquiescit Eboraci in monte qui ab eo Seversho vocatus est. (Radul. de Diceto Scrip. x.v. p. 555.) Admitting the truth of this tradition, how was Carausius to avenge his death on the Picts, seventy-nine years after it happened? So far as concerns the rumour of assassination, however, the national traditions may have confounded Alexander and Septimius Severus together; for there is a passage in Lampridius's life of the former, (Scrip. Hist. Aug. p. 587.) which seems to intimate, that according to some, he was slain in Britain. "In Britannia, ut alii volunt in Gallia, in vico cui Sicila (in the territory of Treves, between Boppard and Bingen) nomen est, eum occiderunt." (Ibidem.)

(¹⁸) "Quintus fuit constantius constantini magni filius, et defunctus est in britannia."

Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, died not in Britain, but in Cilicia. (Ammian. l. 21. c. 13.) Gale and Bertrami have *pater* instead of *filius*. If this change be allowed, Constantius Chlorus (who died at York, A. 307.) must be meant. "Obiit in Britannia Eboraci principatus anno tertio decimo, atque inter divos relatus est." (Eutropius, l. 10. c. 1.) From the belief, that Constantine was born in Britain, his mémory became dear to the natives, and the names of Constantius and Constantinus "propter spem totam nominis," (Orosius, l. 7. p. 139) were long and frequently assumed by the princes of North Wales, and those of the Cornish line. (Pedigree in Roland Mon. Antiq.) Cair Segeint was the royal residence of the former, and where, to this day, is to be seen the chapel founded by Helena, not the mother of the great Constantine, as has been erroneously stated, but the daughter of Euda, Duke of Cornwall, and the wife of the usurper Maximus, (the Malsen Wledig of the Britains) and who, according to the cambrian genealogies, was on the maternal side, descended from the first christian emperor. The British author of the Life of Gruffydd ab Cynan, published in the Myriadian archaiology) speaks of an ancient inscription in the castle of

Cair Segaint, importing that it was the city of the emperor Constantine; and Matthew of Westminster says, the body of Constantius, the father of Constantine, "was in the year 1283 found there by Edward the First, and honorably interred in the church of the new town." (*Camb.* p. 665, and 719. *Usser, Antiq.* p. 33.) The "literæ qua sunt in lapide tumuli," might at that time be visible. Deceived, therefore, by a similarity of name, and in an age of credulity, the tradition might be established, that Cair Segaint was the burying place, either of Flavius Valerius Constantius the son, or of Constantius Chlorus the father, of Constantine, when it was really the burying place of neither, but of some later prince of the cambrian race. I am further persuaded, that Cair Ebrauc and not Segaint was here intended. Mark says, that Cair Segont was called, "alio nomine minmanton." Bertram has *Brigantum*, a reading countenanced by Camden, (p. 717) who says, that Eboracum is called by Ptolemy, Brigantium, from its being the capital of the Brigantes. The advantages conferred on this city, by restoring tranquillity to the northern parts of Britain, justify the figurative elogium of having banished poverty from its borders, "seminavit in pavimento supradictæ civitatis tria semina, auri argenti et æris." This allusion seems triadic. "Coll, the son of Collvevri, obtained the distinction of bestowing important advantages on the Cymry, by the introduction of wheat and barley into the island, &c." (*Camb. Biog. Coll. and Triad*, No. 101.)

(¹⁴) "Sextus maximus in brytannia; a tempore illius consules esse coeperunt; et cesares postea nunquam appellati sunt."

That Consuls had their rise from this period, is probable from the innovations introduced in the affairs of the Empire by Diocletian, and perfected by Constantine. "In consequence of these, the civil administration of this island, was conducted by a vicar or vice-prefect, who acted in subordination to the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul; and the two northerly provinces Valentia and Maxima Caesariensis being most exposed to danger, were deemed of the highest importance, and called *consulares*." (*Horsley*, p. 475. n.) As to the latter assertion, the following is the best illustra-

tion I have to offer. Long after the extinction of the race of Julians, the appellation of Caesar, which was to him a family distinction, was assumed by his successors, and seemed inseparable from the imperial dignity. When Diocletian associated three colleagues in the exercise of the supreme power, the two elder princes were distinguished by the use of the diadem, and the title of Augustus, while the two subordinate were recognised by that of Caesar. Hence, perhaps, arises the assertion of our author; that the emperors were no longer called Caesars. (Consult *Horsely*, p. 71, and *Gibbon*, vol. i. c. 14.) Considerable difficulty presents itself in identifying the Maximus, as the sixth emperor who was in Britain. Usher is of the opinion, that this and the following Maximianus, are the same individual, "Nimis ex uno hoc Maximo effecit duos." (*Antiq.* l. 9. p. 107.) The British name Maxen answers both to Maximus and Maximianus; and is in the next page applied indiscriminately. The period referred to, is contemporary with St. Martin, who was born, A. 316, became bishop of Tours, and who died in 397. It may, however, be remarked, that Galerius Maximianus, (though previously to the date assigned) was on the resignation of Diocletian, elevated to the rank of Augustus. Galerius Maximianus was in Gaul, and from an inscription found in Cumberland, (*Horsely*, No. 16.) perhaps in Britain. It also appears from Laurentius, (*Numis.* l. 1. p. 81.) that he was called both Maximus and Maximianus. He is said to have served in Britain in the year 268, and acquired great military reputation. Being disgusted, that, on the death of Valens (378) he was not associated in the empire, in preference to Theodosius, (*Horsely*, p. 74.) he violated his allegiance, and usurped the sovereignty of this island. The British accounts affirm, that his power was strengthened by marrying Helena, the daughter of Euda, Duke of Cornwall, as before mentioned; and, in consequence of this union, the native youth flocked to his standard. Thus supported, he invaded Gaul, where he was opposed by the Emperor Gratian, at the head of a powerful army near Paris; but being betrayed, by Merobaudus, was deserted by his troops, and fled towards Lyons, where he was

put to death. Flushed with success, and thinking himself secure of the imperial throne, Maximus nominated his son Victor, his colleague in the empire, and retained his authority till the year 383, when he was vanquished and beheaded near Aquilea. (*Muratori Annal.*)

(55) “ Noluit dimittere belligeros suos brittones ad uxores suas et filios, et ad possessiones suas.” The British forces which accompanied Maximus in his expedition into Gaul, are said not to have returned to their native land, but were distributed over Gaul, “ a stagno quod est super verticem montis jovis” (the great St. Bernard) “ usque ad civitatem quae vocatur cant-guic” (Cantavic in Picardy) “ ad tumulum occidentalem.” I cannot identify this tumulus, it was apparently on the western point of the coast of Gaul. (“ Crug, a heap or mound, a lump or hillock, a barrow, &c.) It was on such round hillocks as came under this denomination, that the Britons held their bardic and judicial Gorsezau or assemblies; hence Crug and Gorses, are sometimes used as synonymous terms.” (*Owen's Welsh Diction.*)

(56) “ Hi sunt brytones armorici.”

Armorica was not, as the word implies, confined to the maritime district of Gaul, nor was it all times the same, but of varying extent. (*Whitaker's Genuine History of the Britons asserted*, p. 214.) Pere Lobineau (*Hist. de Bretagne*, tom. i. p. 7,) assigns limits to ancient Armorica, which generally comprehend those just prescribed; for it took in the Lyonnaise, and great part of the intervening country to the northern coasts of Gaul. But that part of Armorica, on which the appellation of Bretagne is still fixed, contains generally the dioceses of St. Malo, Dol; and Brieu, formerly inhabited by the Diaulities, the Curiosilites, the districts of Treguer and Leon, of Carnoualle, where were seated the Ossismii, and great part of the territory of Vannes; while the cities of Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes, and their respective territories, are excepted from it. (*Ibid.*)

(⁵⁷) “ et illic permanerunt usque in
hodiernum diem.”

The question relating to the antiquity of the name of Bretagne, as applied to Armorica, and its occupancy by insular Britons, is discussed by Whitaker (*ut supra*) and Carte, (vol. i. p. 25,) and with a different sentiment by Gibbon, (vol. vi. c. 38, p. 389.)

(⁵⁸) “ Propter illorum absentiam
britannia superata est ab alienigenis gentibus, et heredes eiecti.”

The incursions here referred to, in consequence of the invasion of Maximus in Gaul, together with those which followed in the fourth century, have been already mentioned.

(⁵⁹) “ Traditione vero seniorum didicimus fuisse a romanis vii. imperatores in brittanja: Romani autem novem affirmant;”

Whence this defective calculation is derived we know not, nor is it of much importance to inquire, The Romani here mentioned, were, I conceive, the romanised Britains.

(⁶⁰) “ Octavus fuit alias Severus.”

Who is here meant is not clear; a second Emperor of Britain of this name is not elsewhere to be found. The chapter in Nennius (*Bertram*, s. 24), where this second Severus is mentioned, is imperfect; the title remains. “ De secundo etiam Severo, qui solita structura murum alterum, ad arcenos Pictos et Scotos, fieri a Tinmuthe usque Rouenes præcepit.”—Evidently confounding the former with a supposed second Severus.

(⁶¹) “ Novus fuit Constantius.”

In the spirit of revolt which prevailed at this period, the natives and the Roman troops, which were in Britain about the year 407, declared a certain Marcus, Emperor: a name not to be found in any Latin author. Zozimus (l. 6, s. 2) says, that the British soldiers moyed by sedition, in the exigency of affairs owned obedience to Marcus, and placed him on the throne. They soon, however, deprived him of life, and placed Gratian

a native, in his room. Gratianus municeps ejusdem insulae tyrannus. (*Orosius*, l. 7, c. 40.) Within four months he was murdered also, and the sovereignty was confirmed on Constantine, not so much in respect to his courage or quality, for he was a very inconsiderable man in the army, but from regard to his name, which they looked upon as fortunate. He passed over into Gaul, to engage in the Gothic war, and taking with him the flower of the British youth, so far exhausted the military force of the island, that it was wholly broken, and exposed to the incessant enemies of the ocean, the Caledonians and the Irish. His successes on the continent were great and extensive. (*Horsley*, p. 74. *Gibbon*, vol. v. c. 30, p. 228.) His authority was acknowledged in Gaul, and he reduced Spain. His son Constans laid aside the cowl, which, previous to his father's elevation, he had assumed, and was created Caesar. "Ex monacho Cesarem factum." (*Oros.* l. 7, c. 40.) Honorius, to whom Constantine had respectfully represented that his dignity had been forced upon him, appeared to acquiesce in his retaining it, and sent him the imperial robes. (*Muratori Annal.* 407. *Gibbon*, vol. v. c. 30, p. 228. *Turner's Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 109.) The British records represent this Constantius as the father of Constans, Emrys, and Uthyr. (*Cam. Biog. Cystennyn: Tysilio*, p. 107.)

(62)

“ His ita transactis.”

The notices here quoted, are extracted almost verbatim from the chronicles of Eusebius, Isidorus, and Prosper.

(63)
bryttannia.”

“ Gurthegirnus autem regnabat in

“ Gurthegirnus (Vortigern)—Gwrtheryn Gwrthenau (*Camb. Biog.*) V consonant, is never the initial letter of any British word in its primary use.” (*Lhuyd Arch.* p. 23, col. 1.) The initial g is equivalent to v consonant in the Latin. (*Ibid.* p. 35, col 2.) Vortigern was “Lord of Erging and Eras;” he built a castle in Snowdon, called Dinas Emrys, where he received the prophetic child Emrys. On the approach of the two brothers, Ambrosius and Uthyr, the sons of Cystennyn, (whom Vortigern is said to

have put to death), who invaded Britain from Armorica, he fled to Ergyn, on the Wye, his final retreat. (*Tysilio: Camb. Biog. Cystennyn, and Gwrtheyrn.*) Jeffery styles him Consul of the Gewissens, (the west Saxons), and says, that “on the approach of Ambrosius, he fled for refuge to the town of Genoreu, (supposed to be the village of Ganeren, within three miles of Monmouth), in Hergin in Herefordshire,” upon the river Gania, (the Wye), in the mountain called Cloarius.

(⁶⁴) “ Sed in tempore illius brytones arguebantur (urgebantur?) a metu scottorum pictorumque, et a romanico impetu. nec et a timore ambrosii.”

The first of these sources of terror has been explained. Vortigern's fear of Ambrosius is accounted for in the last note. Ambrosius is the Emrys Wledig (the illustrious) of the Britons; the Ambrosius Aurelianus, both of Gildas and of Bede. He is descended from Asclepiodotus, (Bran ap Llyr), the founder of the Cornish family; the dynasty whence the great Arthur traditionally sprang. (*Roland, Mona Antig.* p. 168.) Both Gildas, (p. 25) and Bede, (l. 1. c. 16) applaud the modesty and bravery of Ambrosius. They state that he was high in rank—“ comes fidelis, fortis, veraxque forte Romanæ gentis, &c.”—whose parents “ purpura nimirum indutis” had perished in the late commotions. From every account he was supported by the Roman interest; was the candidate for the Pen-dragonship of the island, and the most formidable competitor of Vortigern. Ambrosius left issue. Gildas speaks of his degenerate progeny as existing in his days.

(⁶⁵) “ Interea.”

The tribes, which under the name of Saxons, invaded Britain, originated in those fierce and warlike nations, who from the northern parts of Germany, and the cimbrian Chersonesus, spread from the Elbe to the Rhine. From this extent of sea coast, they had long infested by their piracies, the eastern and southern parts of Britain, and the northern of Gaul. To oppose these invasions, the Romans had established an officer, whom they denominated, “ Comes litoris saxonici per Britanniam,” and who was success-

ful in repressing them. The dissolution of the Roman power favoured the attempts of the barbarians ; and it may be conjectured from Mark, that prepared for one of these enterprizes, three of their vessels are discovered upon the coast. The narrative here is simple, and accounts for the admission of the Saxons, more naturally, than to suppose they were invited by a special embassy. "Interea," therefore is here an expressive word, and indicates the moment of terror and alarm, when the country was distracted by civil commotion and intestine faction. Thus circumstanced, the accidental appearance of these ships, might suggest to the British party, (but not the romanised, which at this juncture, was apparently commanded by Ambrosius,) or that of Vortigern, the dangerous expedient of calling upon the Saxons for assistance. The forces on board might not be very numerous, yet by mixing with the natives, the contagion of their bravery might be communicated, and we know the result.

(⁶⁶) "Tres ceolæ."

As a proof of unsettled orthography, before the invention of printing, *Cœola*, *Cæola*, *Ceola*, and *Chiula*; and the term is applied equally to the galleys of Cæsar, the long ships of the Saxons, and to naval vessels in general. Gildas (c. 23) says the Saxon Cyula, was of a lengthened shape with sails.—"Cylis nostra lingua longis navibus secundis velis." *Ci* and *Ce* are in Saxon pronounced *Ki* and *Ke*; the word exists in the modern *keel*. We are unacquainted both with the size and shape of the Saxon vessels, or the number of men they carried. The earliest vessels which we hear of belonging to this people, were a kind of twelve-oared bark; they were afterwards built capable of containing one hundred and twenty men. (*Mallet Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, c. 10.) Whitaker (*Manchester*, vol. ii. c. 1, p. 20) says of these (three) vessels, that they were "large and roomy transports, composed of *hides*;" a material not very well calculated for the turbulence of the North seas, or, as he asserts, to contain five hundred men each. That the *Ciula* was, however, a ship of greater strength, appears from the following extract: "Si advenisset una navicula, 1 obol. detur, si major et habet siglas,

1. den. si adveniat Ceol, vel ulcus, et ibi jaceat 4 den. ad thelonium dentur." (*Leges Etheldredi Regis Anglic.* c. 23. *apud Brompt.*)

(["]) "a Germania."

Besides the greatest part of modern Germany, this term comprehended Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Livonia, and Prussia, within boundary. (*Tacitus de Mor. German.*) "Omnis namque terra—quæ trans oceanum britannicam sub septentrionali axe jacet, Germania vocatur." (*Higden*, l. 5.) "Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis." (*Beda*, l. 1, c. 15.)

(["]) "In exilium expulse."

Mr. S. Turner, (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 151) from Suffridus, in illustration of this passage, quotes an old Frisian law which directs such emigrations to take place occasionally, and assigns to Hengist and Horsa the command of one of these bands.

The true cause of these expeditions is rather to be sought for in the manners, habits, and situation of these northern people. "Inured to the sea from their childhood, they had no fear of the dangers, or rather knew not that there were dangers of any kind attending such a life. The profession of piracy (once common to all maritime states, in our days confined happily to those of Barbary) was so far from appearing disgraceful to them, that it was in their eyes the certain road to honours and to fortune. Hence it is, that in the ancient chronicles, more than one hero boasts of being the most renowned pirate in the North; and that often the sons of great persons and kings made cruising voyages in their youth, that they might render themselves illustrious, and become one day worthy of command. As soon as a prince had attained his eighteenth or twentieth year, he commonly requested of his father a small fleet, completely fitted out, in order to achieve with his followers some adventure that might be productive of glory and spoil. The father applauded such an inclination in his son, as indicating a rising courage and heroic mind. He gave him ships, the commander and crew of which

mutually engaged not to return unless adorned with laurels, and loaded with plunder. Many of these piratical princes, whom success and custom had attached and habituated to this profession, never quitted it, but gloried in passing the remainder of their lives on board their ships. We meet with them sometimes in their ancient histories, boasting that they never reposed under an immovable roof, nor drank beer in peace by their firesides. The vessels of these corsairs were always well provided with offensive arms, such as stores, arrows, cables, with which they overset small vessels, and grappling irons to board them. These piratical expeditions were not always confined to the devastation of some province, or a few naval engagements; the ancient chronicles supply many instances of enterprizes whose consequences were permanent and lasting. Among these was the emigration of the Angles, who, with the Saxons, in the fifth century, invaded Britain." (*Mallet*, c. 10.)

(⁶⁹) "In quibus dominabantur Hors et Henegest."

Like all the heroes in ancient times, these chiefs are descended from their national deities, and are described as fifth in descent from Odin.

(⁷⁰) "Filius Geta."—Dei non veri, &c.

Geta is the stem from whom Odin, after many descents, issued. After the rule adopted in other genealogies, the name of the nation is here personified: Geta is the father of the Gothic tribes. This deduction has the support of antiquity. The Getæ and the Goths were understood to be the same people. "Getæ illi, qui et nunc Gothi." (*Orosius*, l. 1, p. 14.) A question satisfactorily discussed in the ninth and tenth chapters of Sherrington, (*De Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio*).

The ancient Germans and Scandinavians, being of the Gothic race, professed that system of polytheism afterwards delivered in the Edda. The Saxons (here deduced from infernal spirits) are uniformly adverted to by the Britains in terms of reprobation; "ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones, deo hominibusque invisi." (*Gildas*, c. 23.)

(¹¹) " Gurthegirus—tradidit eis insulam quae lingua
eorum vocatur tenet, britannice roihin.

" Insulam Tanation—a britannicis Inis Ruhin sive Ruithinam
appellatam fuisse." (*Antiq. Rutup.*)

It was at Ebbsfleet, or the Ypwines fleet, (*Chronic. Sax.*)
near the estuary of the Wantsum which divides the island of
Thanet from the main land of Kent, that the Saxons first landed.
From shoals, or the recess of the sea, that part of the coast is
greatly altered since the time of the Romans. The Wantsum
was once navigable for large vessels. When Bede wrote, (l. 1,
c. 25) it was three stadia broad, and fordable only in two places.
It is now at Reculver, one of the entrances, a brook which may
be stepped across, and in its centre, towards the Sarr road, is
scarcely six feet broad.

Ebbsfleet is now an inland spot, at some distance from the
sea. To the natives it doubtless appeared politic to confine the
Saxons in this islet, with a view to shut them out from the rest
of Britain, but the weakness of this policy was proved by its
consequences. The separation which sequestered the new allies,
secluded also the Britons from them; and by their command
of the Rutupian harbour, gave them the best opportunity of
keeping up communication with their countrymen, and of inviting
new adventurers to join them. The situation also was most
advantageous for their vessels, and from whence they could con-
veniently harass the eastern and southern coasts of England.

(¹²) " Regnante gratiano equantio romæ Saxones
vero."

" Regnante Martiano secundo quando, &c." (*Gale*, s. xv.)
Bertram and the Bodleian copies have the same reading. In the
two Cotton MSS. which I have examined, the passage runs
" Gratiano secundo equantio." In all these the word *Romæ* is
wanting. I am at a loss for the meaning of *equantio*; the same
term occurs again as an epithet to the second Severus in the
enumeration of the Roman emperors, who are said to have been
in Britain. In Sir Simon D'Ewe's copy of Nennius, in the
British Museum, we have " Gratiano e Quantio Saxones in

7.42

Guorthirno suscepti sunt." That antiquarian proposes "*e Quæstio*"—"opinor id esse Kentice."

If we admit *Martiano* (as in Gale and the Bodleian copies) instead of *Gratiano*, I should conceive that the passage was originally "*Regnante Marciano Romæ quando Saxones a Guorthirno suscepti sunt.*" The elevation of *Flavius Marcianus*, dates A. 450, the year after the admission of the Saxons by Vortigern.

(⁷³) "a tempore—ad primum imperii anni regis eadimundi—quintus ante dicti regis est annus."

This passage is not to be found in any copy of *Nennius* that has fallen under my inspection; it is, however, very important in deciding the date of this part of the MS. The fifth of Edmund (940; 946) answers to 945:

(⁷⁴) "In tempore illo venit sanctus germanus ad prædicandum in bryttannia."

The life of this distinguished prelate was written by an ecclesiastic of the name of Constantius, who was, or nearly so, his contemporary. This production possesses considerable merit, and is more free from those extravagancies which disfigure the pages of his later encomiasts. It is preserved in *Surius*, (*Vit. Sanctoꝝ tom. iii.*) from which we learn that St. Germanus sprang from an illustrious family in Auxerre, where he was born A. 380. In 418 he succeeded St. Amator in the bishopric of that city, which he held throughout life: he died 448. In the year 429 he was delegated by a synod of gallican Bishops, with St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, to pass into Britain to repress the errors of Pelagius, whose heresy had been crushed in Gaul five years before, by the edict of Valentinian the Third. In 436 he repeated his mission, attended by Severus, bishop of Treves. At this period, the Armoricans, following the example of the insular Britons, undertook to govern themselves independently of the Romans. (*Lobineau, tom. i. ad an.*) To punish their revolt, *Aetius* was sent against them with a formidable army. (*Muratori, Ann. 436.*) St. Germanus landed in Gaul on his return from Britain, when

he was solicited by the factions Armoricanæ to proceed to Ravenna; to supplicate forgiveness of Valentinian and Placidia. He is thus identified in the Cambrian records:—Garmon, or St. Germain, the son of Rhedyw, and uncle of Emrys Llydaw, being his mother's brother, one of the most distinguished British saints, to whom there are churches dedicated in many parts of Wales, and after whose name the ancient cathedral of the Cornish Britons was called St. Germain. He was sent over to Britain in the year 429, by a council of the Gallican church, to preach against what was called the Pelagian heresy, but which was in reality the ancient and common doctrine of the British church, which blended many of the bardic principles with Christianity; and which, at the period under consideration, was successfully diffused by Morgant, or Pelagius.* The true object therefore of the mission of Garmon was to bring the British Christians under the discipline and power of the catholic church, then beginning to aspire to that universal dominion, which it soon after established over the western empire. How far Garmon was successful in this mission is not very clear, but his stay in the island was not very long. In the year 447 he was sent over a second time, by another council of the church of Gaul, and probably with more extensive powers. He now established many colleges, as that of Llancarren, that of Caer Worgan; at the head of which he placed his most experienced disciples, such as Dyrrig, Illyd, Bleiddan or Lupus, and Catwg, who taught agreeably to the tenets of the church of Rome.

Bishops were also consecrated by him; the chapters of whose dioceses formed ecclesiastical courts, which till then were

* "If Pelagius did really maintain the doctrines attributed to him, his idea that the fall of Adam did not cause an hereditary corruption to descend to his posterity, but that man sins like the first parent from a similitude of constitution, is certainly a Druidical idea; as the Druids, on the principle of metempsychosis, held that men having been in a pre-existent state, came into the world to be purified from imperfections to which he had been liable in that former state. You will find this subject detailed with considerable care and attention in an *Essay on Pelagianism*, published not long ago (1808) at Carmarthen." (*Roberts MS.*)

unknown in Britain. After a residence of some years, he returned to Gaul, where he died.

Among the associates and fellow labourers of St. Germanus, who are little known, are the following :

Dyvrig Beneurog, or Dubricius the Golden-headed, the first bishop of Llandaw, to which he was consecrated by Garmon about A. D. 450, and removed from thence soon after to Caerleon, and became primate of the Welsh church to Dewi, or St. David, and retired to the isle of Bardsey, where he spent the remainder of his days." (*Camb. Biog.*)

Illtyd Varchog, or Iltutus the Knight, the son of Bicanus, by the sister of Emrys Llydaw, a saint who accompanied Garmon to Britain, and was placed at the head of Côr Tewdws in Caer Worgorn in Gwent, or the congregation of Theodosius, so called from being established by that emperor, but which had been destroyed by the pagan Irish when Iltutus came to it; and they at the same time carried Padrig (Patrick) who then taught there, away to Ireland. He restored it, and it was therefore called Côr Illtyd, Bangor Illtyd, and Llan Illtyd Vawr, and by the English, Saint Iltutus, after his name. Besides being a preacher of Christianity, the name of Illtyd is honoured among the Welsh, on account of his introducing among them an improved manner of ploughing land; for previous to his time they ploughed with what was called Arad yr Arfang, or over-treading plough, and a mattock. He was therefore joined with Hu and Coll, to form a Triad of those who conferred blessings on the nation of the Cymry. Illtyd lived about the year 480. (*Camb. Biog.*)

"Catwg the wise, son of Gwynlliu, otherwise Cadog, the first abbot of Llancarvan, about the beginning of the sixth century, and to whom some churches are dedicated. He is distinguished for being the first who made a collection of the ancient adages and maxims of the Britons." (*Camb. Biog.*)

It is useful to produce evidences in favour of these native and insulated records as often as they occur, and it promotes confidence in those which are not to be elsewhere verified.

The following extract from Caradoc Llanguarvan, (*Welsh Archaeology*, vol. ii. p. 490) though later in point of time, is

adduced as “a cruel instance of the hatred of the Welsh towards the Anglo-Saxons.”—The year of Christ 959, Owain, son of Hoel dda, destroyed the choir of Saint Illtud in Gorwennsyd, (Glamorganshire) because he found in it learned men of the Saxon nobility.” (*Turner's Vindication*, p. 118.) “The monumental stone of Illitus, with an inscription, was discovered in the church-yard of Lantwit-major, in Glamorganshire, and may be seen in Camden's *Britannia*, under that county.” (*Ibid.* p. 196.) In the same church-yard was dug up so late as the year 1789, a monumental stone, coeval with the former to King Iathal, as proved by the inscription. It was fixed against the porch of the church, where it is now to be seen. (*Ibid.* p. 197.) There is a circumstance relating to the monuments both of Illitus and Iathal, which should not be silently passed over. From the inscriptions upon them, we learn that they were both by Samson, a personage scarce visible in the English, though his character is conspicuous in the Cambrian antiquities. He was an armorican—“the son of Amwn Dhu, king of Graweg in Llydaw, by Anna, daughter of Meirig ab Tewdrig, a saint who lived in the latter part of the sixth century. He was the successor of Peiris, as a bishop of the college of Illtyd, where he presided for some years, and then in Armorica, and lastly again in the college of Illtyd, where he died.” (*Gamb. Biog. Samson.*) Samson is recognised by the learned Benedictines (*Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 547) as the first Bishop of Dol. His life, or rather legend, written not long after his decease, is to be found in Mabillon. (*Act. Ben.* tom. i. 165, 185.)

Another military saint celebrated in these times, and unknown in our chronicles, to be found in the Welsh MSS. is “Pabo, generally called Pabo post Prydian, the son of Arthwys ab Mor, and the brother of Eliver and Ceidio, who first distinguished himself as a renowned warrior, in the latter part of the fifth century, fighting against the Gwyddelian Fiehti; but he was eventually compelled to give way and leave his territory in the north. He sought refuge in Wales, and was hospitably received by Cyngen ab Cadell, king of Powys, and had lands given to him there; and he afterwards lived a holy life, and was accounted

a saint of the British church. He founded Llan Pabo, in Mona, where his tomb remains with an inscription round his effigy." (*Camb. Biog. Pabo.*) "His tombstone was discovered in the church yard, about the time of Charles the Second, by the sexton, digging a grave. It is a soft stone of the nature of slate, not the produce of Anglesey.

It lay about six feet under the ground, and the characters are in bas relief. (*See plate 10.*) Pabo, frequently called post prydain, i. e. the support of Britain, for his great valour against the Picts and Scots, retired here (Anglesey), and built his church at Llan Pabo. This Pabo, of all the patron saints of this island, seems to have been the highest in time, and next to him St. Elian." (*Roland. Mona Antiqua*, p. 158.) "Pabo, the post of Britain, the oldest of the saints of Môn." (*Bonedd y Saint MS. P. Pabo.*) "Elian Geimiad, a saint who lived in the fifth century, &c." (*Camb. Biog.*) "Elian Geimiajd, (the runner) the son of Carelydwys, the son of Cyngu ap Yspwys ap Cadraevd Calchvynydd, and Tegvan, the daughter of Tudyr the great, his mother. (*Ibid. v. Elien.*)

The translation from the Cambrian MS. called "Bonedd y saint," or the genealogy of the saints, is given principally to remark on the singularity of this final term, which occurs throughout. *His mother* concluding the sentence, in the pedigree of a saint, is merely a pleonasm congenial to the Welsh language. This expression may be left out of every one of them, without any detriment to the meaning.

(¹¹) "Primum ergo miraculum."

The miracle of the revived calf is inserted in "the Life and Miracles of St. Germanus," written in heroic verse by Erricus, monk of Auxerre, and in the "Golden Legend;" but is not to be found in the more authentic detail of his Life, by Constantius. I am told by a native, that this story is still popular among the common people in Wales.

(¹²) "rex iniquus atque tirannus cui nomen belinus." "Benli, in regione Ial." (*Gale.*) The last reading is right.

Iâl was in Denbighshire (*Camden, Denb.* p. 681.); and Benli Gawr, or the Mighty, was chieftain of a district in that county, about the middle of the fifth century. (*Camb. Biog.*) "On the mountain, between Iâl and Ystrad alun, just over the ford called Rhyd y Gyfarthfa, in Denbighshire, there was a great battle fought, between Meirion and Beli, the son of Benli the Great, in which Beli was killed, and Meirion afterwards erected two stone pillars, one at each end of his grave, to commemorate the event; remains of these existed till within a few years." (*Bardic Museum*, vol. ii. p. 10.)

This burying place is alluded to by Taliesin. "It is the tomb of Beli, the son of Benli the prince." (Tombs of the warriors.) Tombs of other saints who are identified in the cambrian MSS., are still to be recognised in Wales, and tend to increase our faith in the authenticity of those records. "Passing from Llan Gurig, in Montgomeryshire, I saw several tumuli along the road—one of these tumps is called by the neighbours castell Bychan; Brychan Brycheiniog, from whom Brycheiniog, (i. e. Brecknock) according to its name, was formerly Lord of that country. At a place in Montgomeryshire, called Llan Eurfal, in the church-yard, there is a stone erected of about four feet above the ground, with an inscription to Paternius: I do not remember to have read of Paternius, but Paternus was a noted man, a native of Mauritania (Armorica), Evêque d'Avranches, (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 478.) who erected a Bishop's See in Cardiganshire, between A. D. 516 and 540." (*Cambrian Register*, vol. ii. p. 497.) "St. Cadwan lies buried at Tywyn Meirionydd, where his tombstone with an inscription, is still to be seen, (since removed): the church of which place, also, is dedicated to his memory, as is evident by his feast being kept on the same day, both at Llangavan and Tywyn, namely, the 1st of November. This is alluded to by Tudur Aled, a Bard of the fifteenth century." (*Ibid*, p. 273, examine also *Brychan, Cadwan, Padarn.*)

("") "in sanctam trinitatem—credo ; baptizavit
que et osculatus est ;"

Trine immersion, which seems to have been in use, though not invariably, among orthodox christians, from the time of Tertullian to that of our Edward the Sixth, was succeeded by the kiss of peace, the symbol of reconciliation to the favour of God.

(⁷⁸) “Erat et illi nomen catel vel cadel—ipse est cadel vel catel drunluc.”

The proper reading is Cadell Deyrnllwg, or Tyrnllwg.

This prince, as expressed by our author, was the stem whence arose the sovereigns of Powys, “et semine illorum omnis regio pauisorum vel pausorum.

Antiquaries do not agree in fixing the period, when this district assumed the importance of a kingdom. From early times, the limits of it were varying. Generally speaking, the principality or kingdom of Powys, is considered as commencing under Brogwell, in the latter part of the sixth century. Before that period, some parts of it were attached to another kingdom, under the same princes as to descent. Of this was Tyrnllwg, or Vale Royal, as the name implies; being the flat country, extending from about Chester towards Shrewsbury; and hence Cadell was styled Cadell Deyrnllwg or Tyrnllwg, or Cadell of the Vale Royal.” (O. P. MS.)

(⁷⁹) “à semine illorum omnis regio pauisorum vel pausorum usque in diem regitur hodiernum.”

From this sentence it is clear, that some of the race of Cadell Deyrnllwg, were reigning in Powys, at the time Mark wrote.

The male successors of that prince failed in Cadell ab Elisau, (A. 807, or 817—843) when the kingdom devolved on a female. (*Genealogy in Warrington's Wales, and vol. 7. p. 205.*) (*Camb. Biog. Eryllt.*) And it may be supposed, that the date now referred to, was previous to the time when Powys fell to the distaff. “This is mentioned in the books of pedigrees, as the third instance of the british sceptre going by a female descent.” (*Camb. Biog. Eryllt.*)

(⁸⁰) “Cum autem barbari multiplicati essent.”

In the middle age, sufficient traces of the latin tongue remained in christian countries, to assume the title of the Roman world (*Orbis Romanus*): all the rest were called barbarians, “Barbaros denique appellatos, quotquot religionem Romanam non profiterentur.” (*Du Cange.*)

(¹¹) Miserunt legatos; Qui transfretantes scithiam.” “Tithica vallis” is applied by Gildas (c. 15) to the firths of Scotland. This, the only instance of the use *scithica* in Mark; it here evidently means the North Sea.

(¹²) “ adducentes secum filiam hancgisti pulchram valde.”

This tale of the fair Rowena, is, I believe, not alluded to by the Welsh bards; neither is it to be found in Gildas, Bede, nor any of the Saxon writers, who attribute the subjugation of this country, rather to valour than statagem. “ Nihil vanius Saxonica historia vel turbatius.” (*Baxter*, p. 198.)

(¹³) “ interpreti suo nomine ceretic.”

There is an addition in Gale and Bertram, which is here omitted.—“ Nullo Britone Brittonum sciente Saxonicam linguam preter istum Britonem.” (Cerdieselmet, Gale, Cerdic Elmet, Cott.) “ Elmet est territorium,” in the West riding of Yorkshire, (*note in Bertram*, p. 192.). It was this territory, which Edmund, King of Northumberland, son of Ella, brought under his own dominion, by the conquest of Cereticus, a british King, A. D. 620. (*Camden, York*, p. 711.)

The name in question, may, with equal probability, be applied to a native of Cardiganshire. Ceretica was the ancient name of that county. (*Hum. Lhuyd. Comment*, p. 42.)

(¹⁴) “ Sicera.” Properly rendered in the New Testament (*Luke*, c. 1. v. 15.) “ strong drink”; and means every kind of inebriating beverage, wine excepted. “ Est omnis potio que extra vinum inebriare potest; cuius licet nomen hebreum sit, tamen latinam sonat, pro eo quod ex succo frumenti vel pomarum conficiatur,

aut palmarum fructus in liquorem exprimantur, costisque frugibus aqua pinguior, quasi succus colatur: et ipsa potio Sicera nuncupatur." (*Isidor.* l. 20. orig. c. 3.) Mead has been commonly suggested. Gododin, alluding to the massacre of the long knives, says, " Reflect on the intoxication at the banquet of mead." (*Arymes Prydinawr*, l. 35. *Camb. Reg.* vol. ii. p. 557.) The mead brewer was one of the great officers of state. (*Laws of Howel Dha.*)

" That Maelgwn of Mona be inspired with mead and clear us with it

From the mead horns—the foaming, pure and shining liquor
Which bees provide, but do not enjoy.

Mead distilled I praise—its eulogy is every where
Precious to the creature whom the earth maintains."

(*From Taliessin's Mead Song. Turner's Vindication*, p. 59.)

(³⁴) " de genere Och gul vel tingle."

De insula Oghgul. (*Gale and Bodleian.*) De insula Angul-Bertram. The last comes the nearest to the true reading; for the Angles were by the Welsh denominated Eingyll. " Men run before the Eingyll." (*Owen Dict. V. Brynail.*) This is the only passage where the Angles are expressed by name. These that now arrived were probably a later reinforcement.

They inhabited a small island in the kingdom of Denmark and duchy of Sleswick, which is now called Angel, and of which the city of Flensburg is the metropolis. Lindeborgius, in his Epistles, styles this country Little England; and Ethelward, who wrote in the 11th century, speaking of the ancient habitation of the Angles, says, Anglia Vetus lies between the Saxons and Grets. (*Iutæ.*)

(³⁵) " quæ vocatur anglice centland, bryttannice autem cæint."

" Quæ in lingua eorum vocatur Canthguaraland in nostra autem lingua Chent." (*Bertram.*)—" Imo potius Caint. Circa prima tempora Normannorum Chent aliquando Chenith dicitur." (*Gale.*)

(²⁶) " ignorante guoranogono."

Whitaker supposes this to be the name of the sovereign of Kent. (*Manch.* vol. ii. p. 23.) Camden describes the word "Guorong," as denoting "a viceroy, or freeman," (p. 187.) Langhorn gives it the same interpretation, and supposes a regulus of Kent was here intended. (p. 10.) The term is most probably generic. In the Cambrian Biography there are several names that begin with Goron: the root is "Gor, s. m. what is superior." (*Owen's Welsh Diction.*)

(²⁷) " et da illis regiones quae sunt in aquilone iuxta murum qui vocatur guaul;—ocharta videlicet et ebissa cum xl. ceolis."

Hengist, addressing himself to Vortigern, after his marriage with Rovena, says;—I will now give thee good counsel that thou mayest not be disturbed by foreign nations; send to Germany for my son Ocharta and his uncle Ossa, who is a celebrated warrior, and give them Scotland, the place where thou art often overcome and harassed by frequent wars; and they will guard thee against this distant people, " and make you too powerful to fear opposition." (*Tycilio Collec. Camb.* vol. i. b. 4. p. 114.) The forces thus insidiously introduced, landed apparently between the walls of Severus and Antoninus; " Vastaverunt orades insulas, et occupaverunt regiones plurimas usque ad confinium pictorum."

(²⁸) " Absque habitatore relinquenter."

The Saxon Chronicle, (p. 12.) informs us that the Angles left their country totally deserted. This opinion was prevalent in Britain. " Ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus," is the testimony of Bede (lib. 1. c. 15.) respecting their province. " On thæm landum eardodon Engle ær hi hidre on land comon." (*Ælfred's Orosius*, p. 25.) " Allmyn were preparing an emigration one after another, leaving a nakedness the place whence they sprang." (*Taliessin. Owen's Diction. v. Attor. Turner's Anglo-Saxons*, book ii. c. 5. p. 249.)

(²⁹) " At super omnia mala adiitens guorthegimus accepti sibi filiam suam uxorem quæ peperit filium."

All the early authorities; the Triads, Tysilio, Jeffrey, and the Saxon writers; are silent as to this charge.

(90) "Hoc itaque cum compertum esset sancto Germano, venit corripere eum cum omni clero brytannum;"

It appears from a former note, that St. Germanus died, A. 448. He must, therefore, have appeared again after that event, or the crime of incest, with which Vortigern is supposed guilty, must have happened during his first or second mission. The whole of this tragical episode is so confused, as to dates, as to be very inconsistent. Two synods are recorded, in which St. Germanus presided; the first, 446, the second, 449. By the latter, the incest of Vortigern was censured; but the authority is quoted from our author. (*Wilkins's Concilia*, tom. i. p. 1.)

(91) "Pater meus es, caput meum tonde, et comam capitum mei;"

There was a custom among the Britains called "Diwyn" and seems to have signified the first cutting of a youth's hair; which was usually done by one of the chiefs of the family, who at the same time gave the child a gift, or granted him some request. (*Lluyd Archæolog.* cap. ii. p. 234.)

The cutting off the hair was common, both among Christians and Heathens. With the former, they were thenceforth denominated "servi Dei;" and the ceremony was often performed on children. In the *Ordo Romanus* (p. 62. apud Hittorpium) there are several prayers, *ad capillaturam incidendam*, of which the following is one; "Omnipotens Christe Salvator, innocens, et innocentiae amator, humilis et humilitatis assumptor, mansuetus et mansuetudinis inhabitator, qui venientibus ad te parvulis, manus tuae benedictionem imponens, talium dixisti esse regnum celorum, benedic hunc famulum tuum N. cuius in tuo nomine superflua incidimus capillorum: da ei intellectum cum statim augmento ut, te timeat te intelligat, et tua mandata custodiat, et te auxiliante usque ad canos senectutis cum summa sanitate perenniat. Per te Salvator mundi, qui cum Deo patre." The only instance I have met with of this ancient rite among ecclesiastical

(¹⁶) In the life of Benedict II. (A. 684.) "Hic una cum clere, et exercitu suscepit mallones capillores Domini Justiniani, et Heraclii filiorum clementissimi principis, simul et jussione per quam significat eodem capillos direxisse." (*Athanasius*, tom. i. p. 146.) The note of the learned Antoine Hauteserre, of Thoulouse, on this passage (tom. ii. p. 116.) is curious. Constantinus Rogennatus obicit Benedictio P. mallonem capillorum filiorum ut eis esset per adoptionem pater spiritualis. Ex more Longobardorum adoptio fiebat per tonsuram capillorum. (*Aymoin. Monach.* lib. iv. cap. 57.) Pepigerat autem fodus Carolus Martillus, Princeps cum Luitprando. Langobardorum regé, eique sūmū suum Pipitum misit, ut more fideliū Christianorū ejus capillum prius attenderet, ut pater ille spiritualis existeret." (*Idem Paulus Diacon. de genti Longobard.* lib. vi. c. 18.)—*Mallones, vellus, coma, ex greco μαλλος, idest, lana, coma, offerebantur in signum subjectionis paternae.* (*Vide Baron, A. 684. n. 7. Macri Hierolexicon.*)

(¹⁷) “a facieque Germani fugiens maledictus ac damnatus est a sancto, et ab omni sinodali conventu.”

Thus circumstanced, Vortigern “ invitatis ad se xii magis.” The Druids and the Magi of Gaul and Britain were the same: (*Pán. lib. iii. c. 1.*) and are so identified by subsequent writers. In the life of St. Columba, written by Adamnas, the Druids are called Magi throughout. “O’Donnel, in his translation of the New Testament into Irish, calls the wise men of the east Magi. (*Mal. cap. ii. p. 1.*) Draoithe, i. e. Druids.” (*Mona Antiqua*, p. 109.) Curious particulars relating to the Magi, the arts they practised, their influence in various countries, under different appellations, are to be found in Beroaldus’s preface to his edition of *Apuleius*. (*Basil. 1560. 3 vols. 8vo.*) “ King Gwrtheyrn had twelve principal bards. On some occasion he thought they had deceived him respecting some prophecies; consequently he ordered them to be put to death; and their graves, called Beddew y Dewiniaid, or the tombs of the prophets, are to be seen to this day.” (Quoted by Jones, from a Welsh MS: *Bardic Museum*, vol. ii. p. 14.) Tyllio also remarks, on the twelve principal bards,

the counsellors of Vortigern. (*Coll. Camb.*, vol. i. b. 4., p. 148.) Do not these correspond with the twelve pontiffs, called Diar or Drottar, which Mallet also (vol. i., p. 61.) assimilates to the Druids? They aided in the councils, were styled prophets, wise men, divine men. (*ibid.*, 140.) "Diar seu Drotnar, duodecim. Prefecti cetera eminentiores, quibus sacrorum et juris populo dicendi curam commiscerat Odinus Sueonum Princeps." (*Hicet. Dissert.*, p. 49.)

(³³) "Ad extremas fines regni tui vado—tandem pervenerunt ad quendam provintiam que Guenet vocatur."

"Guenet," "Gwynez (gwyn) Venedocia, North Wales, exclusive of Powys, also all North Wales, in a lax sense. Gwynez up Conwy, Gwynez above Conwy; Gwynez is Conwy, Gwynez below Conwy." (*Owen's Dict. Gwynez.*) Lywarch Hêa calls "Powys the paradise of the Cymry." (*Elegies, Owen's Translation*, p. 119.)

(³⁴) "et cum lustrarent montana heremi."

Heremi (Eryri) the mountains, of which Snowdon is the highest peak. They were to the Cambrians what Parnassus was to the Grecians, and Mount Ida to the Cretans. (*Mona Antiqua*, p. 253.) That this was within the native territories of Vortigern, appears from Tysilio, (*Coll. Camb.*, vol. i. b. 4. p. 148.) who says, that the king, after examining many spots in the land of the Cymry fit for building a castle, preferred one in Eryri, which is to this day called Dinas Emris, or the fortress of Ambrosius; and the site is ascertained by that name in the ancient maps prefixed to the first volume of Warrington's *Wales*. The tradition still continues—"Dinas Emris is a vast insulated rock arising from a tract of meadow, on whose summit is a large area, and within it the ruins of a stone building ten yards long.

This may have been the residence of Vortigern, and Merlin Ambrosius may have given it the name of Emris. Nant y Gwertheym, or Vortigern's valley, is in the neighbourhood." (*Gough's Cambræa*, vol. ii. p. 553.) "In the vale of Gyrant, and near Beddgelert, in Caernarvonshire, is a lofty wood-clad rock, called Dinas

Emrys, the fort of Ambrosius. I have been informed that there are some small remains on the top of Dinas Emrys, but they are very inconsiderable." (*Bingley's North Wales*, vol. i. p. 366 and 372.)

(¹⁴) "Nisi inveneris infantem sine patre."

We are now introduced to a personage of high consideration in the British story. Great characters in a remote age have ever been ushered into the world unlike common men; nor is it likely that the prophet Merlin should be an exception. I will not in this place undertake to discuss the question whether the detail now presented by Mark is an abridgment of the extravagant narrative to be seen in Jeffery, called "the Prophecies of Merlin," or whether the latter is amplified from the former; but will proceed to illustrate the text of our author, the materials for which are principally extracted from Mr. Roberts's *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*. "Nisi occidatur et arx tua a sanguine ejus aspergatur."

"Dr. Jamieson, in his History of the Culdees (p. 20.) relates a similar traditional anecdote; from which it should seem, that the sacrifice of a human victim was thought by the Druids a necessary propitiation, without which the commencement of an undertaking was not successful. The anecdote is this: When Columba first attempted to build on Iona, the walls, as it is said, by the operation of some evil spirit, fell down as fast as they were erected; Columba received supernatural intimation that they would never stand, unless a human victim was buried alive."—One was found accordingly. (p. 62.)

(¹⁵) "pervenerunt ad campum selecti (vel elleti) qui est in pago vel regione que glevesincc."

Both Tysilio (*Coll. Camb.* vol. i. b. 4. p. 118.) and Jeffrey, (book vi. c. 17.) assert, that the miraculous boy in question was found by the emissaries of Vortigern at Cair Merdin; the former, that his mother was the daughter of the king of Demetia (South Wales), and that when very young, she was placed in a nunnery in the city last mentioned; that her son, before he was discovered, was called the Nun's child, and Myrddin afterwards. Cair

Merddin, the birth-place of Merlin, has been generally supposed to be Caermarthen—an appellation fixed by the prophet. There are, however, substantial grounds for believing it an ancient error. “The place of his (Merlin’s) birth is said in Welsh history to have been Caermarthen, so called from Caer and Myrdd, and signifying, the city of ten thousand (soldiers), that is, of the legion.” (See the *List of Cities*, No. 9.) But, however just the derivation of the name of Caermarthen may be, and, I thought it to be, when I published the translation of the Brut; a circumstance which had not then occurred to my mind, induces me to believe, that the name and its derivation have been substituted, by a mistake of Jeffrey of Monmouth’s Carleon. Nennius says, Merlin was born, “in regione qua vocatur Glevising.” It is in the hundred of Gwaunllwg, of which Glevising is perhaps an error of the copyist.—“In campo Electi,” that is, in the field of battle, or camp of Electus. Now, the Welsh for *campus Electi* would be *maes Elect*; and not far from Caerleon there is a village called in Welsh *Maesaleg*, and commonly at present Bassaleg. On a comparison of these names, the true reading of Nennius would be—“In campo Allecti,” that is, in the camp or field of Allectus, the Roman general; and this being the birth-place of Merlin, according to Nennius, *the city of the ten thousand* must necessarily have been Carleon, in this instance. The mistake of Jeffrey may have been caused by an explanation of the word *leon*, that is, legion, in his original. It may now on these circumstances, be assumed, that the birth-place of this celebrated character was Bassaleg, in Monmouthshire, and not, as the general opinion has prevailed, Carmarthen.” (Roberts, p. 58.)

(²⁹) “vermes inquit duo sunt in eo, unus albus alter rufus.”

This fable is thus expressed in the Triads:—The three concealments and discoveries of Inys Prydain—the third was the dragons concealed by Lludd ab Beli in the city of Pharaon (Dinas Emrys) in the rocks of Eryri; and these three concealments were placed under the protection of God and his mysteries, and that it should be the worse for such as would discover them from that

house. Gwtheryn Gwthensaw discovered the dragons in order to be revenged of the Britons, for their aversion to him; and he invited over the Saxons, under pretence of their coming as auxiliaries to fight against the Irish Picts. (*Triad*, No. liv. *Jones's Copy*.) The three concealments and the three discoveries of Llys Pydair. The third was the concealment of the dragons in the city of Paron in the rocks of Eryri: and those three concealments, worse happened from discovering them. Gwtheryn Gwthensaw discovered the dragons of the city of Paron, which was afterwards called the city of Emrys. (*Triad*, No. xli. *Kanghen's Copy*.) It was usual to stigmatize the Saxons by the reproachful term of serpents. A wily and cruel German serpent, with her armed train, will overrun all South Britain, and the low lands of Scotland, from the German Ocean to the Severn. (*Jones*, vol. ii. p. 81. from *Talecia*). "Rex autem adolescentis natus; Quod nomen tibi est? Ille respondit; Ambrosius vocor, quod britannicus emblemalet."—“This may signify, He was thought to be Ambrosius the royal; (Emrys gwledig) or the name Ambrosius was thought to signify royal. The latter seems to be the sense intended here.” (Roberts, p. 65.) “Gwledig was anciently an epithet given to the Loegia princeps, as a mark of supreme authority.” (Owen's *Welsh Dict.* v. *Glew*.) “Merddin, the bard of Ambrosius, is sometimes called Mawddin bardd Emrys Wledig, but more generally Merddin Emrys. (*Camb. Biog.*) Ambrosius was then a title of honour. Nicholson also, in an enumeration of some of the bards, speaks of “Ambrosius Thelissinus.” (*Historical Library*, part ii. p. 32. edit. 1714.)

(¹⁶) “Rarumque rex, Dequa progenie ortus est: Qui respondit, unus de comitibus romanorum pater natus est;”

It must appear inconsistent, that Merlin, when first enquired of who his father was, averred he knew not; and his mother, when asked the same question, declared she was also ignorant, shrank now openly avow his parentage. The reason of his first silence arose from fear; as explained in an addition to be found in the 48th chapter of *Nennius* (Gale) omitted by Mark.—“Timebat illi no occideretur a Rege iniquo, ideo patrem fateri voluit.” A

fear which arose from his Roman alliance, so hostile to the hopes of Vortigern, who, as we have before seen, “*ungebat et a Romanico impetu, nec non timore Ambrosii.*” But the case since now altered; he is to be rewarded and not punished. The discoveries Merlin had made are important; and he farther prognosticated,—“To-morrow, Emrys (Ambrosius) and Uthyr, the sons of Constantine, will land at Totness—will, with one mind, persecute thee—for they will come with twelve thousand warriors and recover their rights from the Saxons,—make the cheeks of the Saxons red with Saxon blood.” (*Coll. Camb.* b. 4, p. 121.) Vortigern retreated in haste—“*cum magis suis perrexit ad sinistram plagam britanniae.*”

Still in our author there appears some confusion in the names and characters of Ambrosius and Merlin. In *Tysilio*, in Jeffrey, (excepting in one passage, where Merlin is called Ambrosius, b. 6. c. 17), and throughout the Triads, the hero and the prophet are kept distinct: Meridethin being uniformly styled the Bard of Ambrosius. The substitution here is remarkable; this boy, hitherto described as having no carnal father, now asserts that one of the roman consuls is his father. The british name (embresguletic) here assigned to him, is visited from Emrys Wledig, described in a former note as originating from a roman family—“*purpura indutus.*”

(“*rex dimisit illi urbem illam cum omnibus circiter provinciis occidentalis plaga britannia.*”

“*Rex dedit illi arcem cum omnibus provinciis,*” &c.—Gale. I prefer the *urbem* of Mark to the *arcem* of Nennius, for *Dinas* is rather, and here more particularly, a city or fortified town, and is called above, the city of Paran. It forms the names of several places in Wales; as Bryn Dinas, Dinas Mewwy, and Dinas Fawon, the old name of Dinas Emrys in Snowdon. (*Owen's Dict.* v. *Dinas*.) The provinces in the western districts of Britain, now granted by Vortigern, have a correspondence with those held by Aurelius Ambrosius, who was apparently the king of the Carabii, Cidabri, and Damnonii. (*Whitaker's Manch.* vol. ii. p. 9 and 16.)

This miraculous boy peyed the celebrated Merlin, the bard of Ambrosina. "He is sometimes called Merddin bardd Euryr Wledig," (*Cantab. Brig. Merddin*) and it was easy in some later and uninformed writer to make the mistake above pointed out. Besides this, though his existence has been disputed, there is said to have been another; a Merddin Wylt, or the wild, a native of Strathclyde, called also Caledonius; he lived in the sixth century. A curious life of this Merlin, written in latin verse by Jeffrey of Monmouth, is still extant. He appears to have been a melancholy visionary, who, by living in woods, and by other singularities, acquired the reputation of a prophet. This poem consists of fifty-two closely written pages, and is in the British Museum among the Cotton MSS. (*Vesp. E. i.v.*)

"Merlin lived when the struggles for the abolition of Druidism, and the introduction of Christianity, agitated both parties. It is supposed of him, that in the imprudent defence of his fraternity, he committed some action, which proved detrimental to the cause in which he was interested. We are told, however, that the effect of his error was a derangement of intellect; an abhorrence of society, and a precipitate flight into the forest of Caledonia. In this frantic mood, and after an interval of many years, he makes the rocks and caves resound with the melody of his strains; in which his derangement appears to have been only assumed for the purpose of repressing curiosity; for though his descriptions are designedly obscure, they have too much method for real madness. It is the madness of a heathen prophet." (*Ælfric's Mythological Rites of the Ancient Drude*, p. 481.)

(100) "Et rex ipse cum magis suis perrexit ad sinistram plagam brytanice."

In the common acceptation, *Sinistralis* and *Aquilonaris* were, when locally applied, synonymous; as were *dextralis* and *meridionalis* also. In Psalm 89, v. 12, we read "Aquilonem te meciusque crevisti," a passage rendered by St. Jerom, "aquinonem et dexteram," &c. In the "Ordo Romanus," and other ancient rituals, "pctus sinistralis" of the altar, signifies the

north side. . . . Statuimus Pontifex a parte sinistra recipit Eucharisticum Sacmentum." (*Maori Hierosicon*, v. Sinistra.)

"In the celtic—the word *Debec*, signifying right when applied to the hand, signifies south when applied to the heavens; and in both cases it is understood to imply a preference ordained by nature; the one arising from the construction of the human body, the other from the useful and beneficial operation of the sun from the southern parts of the heavens. The opposite word *dextrum* always means the *southern*." (*Critical Review*, Feb. 1866, p. 124.)

In the present instance, from a passage in Asserius, (*De Elfrici Rebus Gestis*, p. 14, 15), it appears that "sinistralis" is applicable to the district on the Cambrian side of the Severn, as the opposite was the "dextralis"—"Dexteraria qui et dextera est, Regio dexteraria Saxorum, Dexteralis Britannia Sinistralis post Sabrina."

And that Vortigern retreated in a northern direction from Dives Emyrth is opposed by the best authorities, which state that he fled from thence to the castle Gossy, which is in Engle on Wye, where being followed by Emyrth, he was assailed and destroyed with his forces. (*Tynale*, p. 122.) Mark, on the contrary, imagines an intermediate remove between his retreat and death, for the sake of making not Emyrth, but Germanus, long since deceased, his avenger.

(20) "Igitur germanus filius Guorthegirni."

Vortimer now appears on the scene. The Saxons are bravely assailed. The interpolation (not admitted in our author) in this passage, (Bertram, c. 46,) records a circumstance which has found its way into several of our chronicles, that Hengist and his followers were actually driven from this country, were five years absent, and did not return till after the decease of Vortimer.

This story is not confined to Britain; there are some foreign traditions of his (Hengist) having founded Leyden during this absence from England. This is announced to us by Gerbierius of Leyden, an author who died 1586. (*Act. Bib. medicinae*, l. 7, p. 133.)

(¹⁰²) “Guorthemer autem quater contra illos bellum viriliter argit; primum ut supra dictum est.”

The first battle here alluded to is that in which the Saxons were driven into the isle of Thanet, and is thus expressed: Guorthemer—contra hevngestum et harsum gentesque illorum pugnabat; et eos usque ad supradictam insulam tenet expulit—eoque tribus vicibus ibi conclusit obediens,” &c. “secundum super flumen dergunt bellum fecit.”

Derevent (Gale and Bertram) Tyssilio says this battle was fought on the confines of a river (Avon), and Jeffrey, that it was on the Derwent (Avon Derventio). From the circumstance of the Cray running into the Darent, Langhorn (p. 15) is of the opinion, that this was the battle of Grayford, of the Saxon Chronicle, said to have been fought 457; the issue is there stated to have been unfavourable to the Britains—A. ~~cxxxvii~~. Hoc anno Hengestus et Eoca depugnabant contra Britannos in loco qui dicitur Creccanford, et ibi interficerunt quatuor (4 milia virorum) viros (4 scil Duce) at que Britanni deinde cecidit Cenatio, ac cum magno timore confagerunt Londinum.” The date and result of this conflict are both equally questionable. “Tertium super vadum quod lingua eorum episcord vocatus, in nostra autem lingua set thengabail! et ibi cecidit horrore et filiis guorthegirai nomine catigera in pagis bellantea.” Cauden (p. 193) says this place was called by the Britains Seisnenoeg baibail, because the Saxons were conquered there. This engagement is, by Tyssilio, allowed to have occurred at Rhjd y Pygrod (the ford of fish); by Jeffrey, Episford; Cauden (ibid) Ailesford, the *Æglesford* of the Saxons. (Langhorn, p. 14.) A. ~~cccclv~~. “Hec antea, Hengestus et Horsa p̄telisti sunt cum Vortigerno Rege in loco qui appellatur Egleford; et prater eis Horsa occidit est atque postea Hengestus et eius filius *Æeca* potiti sunt regno.” (Chron. Sat.) According to the Saxon testimony, this battle was fought two years prior to the last. The British authors generally allow that Catigern (the Cynddylan of Tyssilio) and Horsa, fell in this engagement, and by the hands of each other. From Bede (l. 3, c. 15) we learn that the

monument of Horsa, who was killed fighting with the Britons, was visible in the eastern part of Kent, " hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne." — " Locus prælii in campo Egelstrep, monumentam in vico Horsted." (*Smith's note.*)

"Quatum vero bellum juxta lapidem qui super ripam maris gallici."

Juxta lapidem tituli—Bertram, and most of the other copies of Nennius.—" Si faverent Codd. MSS. legerem, in Cantio, juxta lapidem populi (*Folkstone*) super ripam Gallici maris; alii intelligunt Stonar." (*Gale, note on c. 46.*) Both this battle and that of the lapis tituli, are referred to in the Gododin of Aneurin. The first, by the name of Galtraeth (the gallic strand, or shore of the gallic sea) the other by the Llech Titleu, or the stone of Titleu." (*Davies Mythol.* p. 344, 348, and 359.) The *lapis tituli* was probably a sea-mark, as was that on the opposite shore of Boulogne, called " turris ordinis," a description of which from Montfaucon, is inserted by Mr. Roberts in his *Collec. Camb.* p. 357. The spot on which this battle was fought is not satisfactorily ascertained; Sonner (*Roman Forts and Ports of Kent*, p. 94) and Stukely (*Itiner. curios.* vol. i. p. 129) are inclined to fix on Folkstone. A name perhaps which has determined interpolators to substitute " Lapis populi " for " Lapis tituli." It has been thought (*Langhorn*, p. 23. *Camden, Kent*, p. 200) that this is the battle of Wyppedes-fleet, of the saxon chronicle, A. 465, where " duodecim Praefectos, Britannos eosdem omnes interfecerunt," &c.

(10) " victoriam optimuit—saxones vero fugerunt usque ad naves suas."

In all these engagements with Vortimer, the Saxons claim the victory. The British accounts are more intitled to credit, for it does not appear that the forces under Hengist had yet penetrated beyond the limits of Kent. The Saxons date not their possession of Kent higher than 455, or seven years after their arrival; a proof that that province was bravely contended for by the natives.

" Sepelite in portu ostii introitae Saxonum corpus meum."

The enlarged acceptation of the word *cetiām* has been alluded to in note 37. The last injunction of Vortimer is accommodated to the well known dying words of Scipio Africanus.

The Triad, No. 45, (*Vaughan*), refers to these national traditions. “The three concealments and the three discoveries of the island of Britain; one of them was the head of Brân the blessed, the son of Lly, who was buried in Gwyrvryn (white hill) in London, and as long as it shoudl continue in that situation, no intrusion would come to this island. The second were the bones of Gurthymyr (Vortimer) the blessed, which were buried in the principal gates of the city; the third, was the concealment of the dragons in the city of Paron, in the rocks of Eyri; and those three worse happened for discovering them. Arthyr discovered the head of the blessed Brân from the Gwyrvryn, in London; for it was a frivolous thing with him to defend the kingdom by any other power than his own. Gurtheyrn Gurthennau discovered the bones of Gurthymyr the blessed, his son, from his regard for Ronwen” his wife, and also discovered the dragons of the city of Paron, which was afterwards called the city of Emrys.” This Triad is in part explained in the mabinogi, respecting “the blow to Bronwen” (M.S.) in which Brân the blessed makes it his last request—“that his head should be conveyed to the white hill, London, and there interred with the face towards France.”

(¹⁰⁴) “ Illi autem imprudenter mandatum illius contemptentes.”

Tyilio (*Roberts*, p. 117) says, Vortimer was poisoned by the insidious Rowena, and that disregarding his last desire, she buried him in London. Nennius, (*Bertram*, c. 45) that he was interred in Lincoln.

(¹⁰⁵). “ Barbari vero per hoc magnopere congregati sunt; et transmarinis paginis auxiliabantur.”

Emboldened by the death of Vortimer, the Saxons collected their forces together, which were augmented by foreign auxiliaries. Nennius, (c. 46, *Bertram*), as before stated, brings over again the banished Hengist “cum suis turmis.”

1. Vortigern, still alive and in power, is induced by peaceable professions of the Saxons, to meet them in a public assembly; which terminated in the massacre of the long knives, an act of meditated treachery which most probably never occurred; but rather seems one of those tumultuary stories, which (like the parallels detailed by Plutarch) will serve any age or country. The same story is to be found in Witichind (*De Gest: Sax.* i. 3; *Scilicet Scot, Orig. Brit.* p. 825) where a corresponding device is practised by the Saxons upon the Thuringians. The spot assigned to the nefarious transaction makes the reality of it suspected. It was "upon the mountain of Cair Caedoc (i. e. Cadoc's fort, probably Old Sarum) where the Gyddeth of the prisoners was." (*Tysilio, Roberts*, p. 126, n.) "It was on the longest plain of the Cymry, near Ambresbury." The assembly was convened on May-day. (*Tysilio, Roberts*, p. 126.) This was both the place and the day for the great sacred druidical and national meeting, which from immemorial time had been annually held, but to which the unallowed Saxons would on every account have been forbidden. Besides, whenever two neighbouring and hostile states meet in a body to settle an important dispute, and negotiate publicly, it is commonly on the boundaries of their respective frontiers. The Saxons had not yet extended their conquest beyond the limits of Kent, and were therefore not likely to have been allowed to pass through several intermediate counties, nor would they have trusted themselves so far into the interior to perpetrate an atrocious action. Vortigern is said to have been taken prisoner on this memorable occasion, and, as the price of his ransom, ceded to the Saxons, Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, and such other districts as they made choice of. The whole story may have been a British fabrication after the heptarchy was established, with a view to palliate what they might deem a disgrace, of having lost these provinces to a hated foe. Could we for a moment allow such a cession, it could have been only nominal, for after many a well fought field, the kingdom of the west Saxons was not formed till 477, nor that of the east Saxons, in which Middlesex and Essex were comprehended, till 527.

—(16) “ Sanctus vero Germanus regi guorthegino: predicabat; —post mortem guorthegini reversus est ad patrum suum.”

This is the commencement of one of those recapitulatory passages, of which there are several in Mart., where sundry traditions are brought together, and in part, or entirely, adapted to some distant purpose. St. Germanus, long since dead, is again introduced for the purpose of avenging the crimes of Vortigern, of whose tragical extinction three distinct narratives are proposed.

(17) “ Cum cantu psalmorum alleluia.”

The Christian victory is recorded by Constantius, in his life of Germanus, (apud Surium, tom. iv. l. 1. c. 28, p. 130,) and by Bede. (l. 1. c. 20.) It happened in the year 489, during the first mission of the saint in Britain, near Mold, in Flintshire, on a spot which still retains the name of Mass Germanus, (the field of Germanus) and arose from the following circumstance.

On the festival of Easter, a vast concourse of christians were assembled to receive baptism from St. Germanus, when one of those piratical bands of Saxons, which had long infested the coasts of Britain, or, as Constantius asserts, of Saxons and Picts, unexpectedly landed, and prepared to attack the unarmed host; when, on a sudden, with vehemence and enthusiasm, Alleluia was three times shouted. The sound increased by the reverberation of the adjacent mountains, struck the invaders with such alarm, that they abandoned the enterprise and fled.

This acclamation, here perhaps used casually as one of spiritual exaltation, was formerly expressed by christians, on the onset of an engagement. In the early ages of the church, before bells were used or permitted, the cry of Alleluia was one of the methods practised of assembling a congregation, for the exercise of devotion. “ Hilaris ait, quod ex ipsis signo Alleluia et qui vocabantur ad collectum ad est ad congregacionem pro operatione facienda.” (Barrii. Onomast. Etymolog. v. Alleluia.) and St. Jason, from whom the above quotation is apparently taken, “ post Alleluia cantatum, quo signo vocabantur ad collectum, omnes residere licetum erat.” (Epist. 27.)

(¹⁰) *Tres filios habuit; quorum nomina sunt guorthemier—cathegirn—pascenct—faustus.*

Vortimer has been already mentioned. Cathegirn, the Cyn-geyrn of Tysilio, who fell in the third battle of Vortimer, when Horus was slain. (*Tysilio*, p. 114.) Pascenct, the Paegen of Tysilio, is here said to have reigned over two provinces, Buelt and Guorthiegirnaim, (the first in Brecknock, the second in Radnorshire,) perhaps his paternal inheritance, which was given him after the death of his father, by Ambrosius—"post mortem patris sui illi langiente embrotio vel ambrosio, qui fuit rex magnus inter reges britanniae." Aided by the testimonies of Tysilio (*Robert*, p. 114, and 130.) and Jeffery, (l. 8. c. 13, 14, and 16.) this passage throws some light on the times. It appears, as if he, Pascenctius, adopted the politicks of his father, and having crossed the sea, was active in levying forces in Germany, to oppose those Britons commanded by Ambrosius. He was defeated in his first attempt, and compelled to fly to Ireland, where the king Gillamori kindly received him. Being provided with forces, he invaded England, and made an attack on the country near St. Davids. Ambrosius was then unable to oppose him with any prospect of success; some compromise, in which the provinces above-mentioned were ceded, (to Pascenct) may have been the result; though this transaction is not elsewhere ascertained. Ambrosius is said to have been poisoned by a Saxon, employed by Pascenctius.

Faustus—I cannot elsewhere identify the fourth son of Vortigern, by this denomination. It was customary for religious persons to assume an ecclesiastical name, and this may have been his. There is in the Welsh pedigrees, an "Edeyrn, son of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthoedus, a saint of the congregation of Catwg, about the end of the fifth century, apparently that under consideration. He established a christian society, amounting to three hundred, at a place in Glamorganshire, which afterwards came to be called Llandedyn." (*Com. Bieg. v. Edeyrn.*) Faustus is stated to have been baptised, brought up, and educated by St. Germanus, and he may have received the name of Faustus from his patron. He is also

said to have founded a monastery upon the river Renis, (the Rhymory,) a river which forms the eastern limit of Glamorganshire, by which it is divided from Monmouthshire. The topography corresponds, and the name of Llanedyrn still remains. The parish is a vicarage in the diocese of Llandaf. Though the assigned parentage does not correspond, the reader may ask, is it possible for this to be Faustus, the celebrated Bishop of Riez, who was a native of Great Britain, the contemporary of St. Germanus, and who lived to an advanced age, late in the fifth century? Some years after the decease of that prelate, he became Abbot of Le-rins, and subsequently elevated to the See of Riez. He gave offence to the orthodox clergy, by affording hospitality in his Abbey to Pelagius, as he passed through Gaul. He was himself a semipelagian; some of his works remain, and are to be found in the "Bibliotheca Patrum." (tom. viii. p. 253.)

(¹⁰⁹) "Unam filiam habuit."

Of the daughter of Vortigern, who became the mother of St. Faustinus, this is the only record which has fallen under my observation.

(¹¹⁰) "Hæc est genealogia illius, quæ a nobis ad initium retrocurrit ferminal qui regnavit in regione guorthegirnaim."

Nennius is here more express: (*Bertram*, c. 52.) Firmwail,
Ipse est qui regit modo in regione Gurtigirnanum.

Of this Firmwail, I elsewhere find nothing.

(¹¹¹) "Mortuo Hengisto."

An event which the Saxon chronicle fixes, A. 488. "Ochta filius ejus advenit de sinistrali parte bryttanniae."

Here *sinistralis* means north.

The invasion of the Orkneys, by Octa and Ebissa, with the possession of the northern districts in this island, has been before expressed. We are to suppose, that Octa left his forces in the north, upon the death of his father, to aid his elder Brother Escus, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Kent—the same Octa, or another of that name, followed in that possession, (see

the Genealogies in Langhorn): “et de ipso omnes regescant pa-
riorum usque in odiernum diem.” (*Bertram, Cantuariorum.*)

If “odiernum diem” be admitted as authentic, this passage must have been written when one of the race of Hengist was king of Kent. If we allow this kingdom to have continued till the time of Baldred, (A. 827.) when the heptarchy was dissolved, we are here presented with another date, corresponding generally with the reign of Mervinus. (No. 35.)

(¹¹²) “Tunc belliger Arthur.”

“Arth. s. a bear.” (*Owen's Dictionary.*)

“Artur, latine translatum, sonat uirum horribilem vel malleum ferreum, (quo franguntur) molæ leonum. Mabuter, Brittannice filius horribilis, Latine; quoniam a pueritia sua crudelis fuit. (*Bertram*, c. 61.)

Arthur is designated by Mark, not as a sovereign, but “Dux belli” only,—fighting against the Saxons, with the kings of Britain; and though there were many, “ipso nobiliores,” he commanded with success, in twelve engagements. Malmsbury and Huntingdon make him no other than general of the British forces; nor is he otherwise distinguished by the earliest and most authentic writers, by whom he is recorded. It is, perhaps, owing to his subordinate rank, that Gildas, who has recorded the battle of Baden Mount, (c. 26.) which was advantageous to the Britons, and honourable to Arthur, has not mentioned him by name.

William of Newburgh was the first who charged the legend of Arthur with inconsistency, and on the revival of letters, so ridiculous did it appear, that it became a question if such a person ever existed. The detail of Mark is simple, and exhibits no extravagant improbabilities. His life in Mr. Roberts's *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, may be consulted to advantage.

(¹¹³) “Ipse tamen duodecies dux belli fuit victorque bellorum.”

I have examined the various evidences as to these battles, without entire satisfaction; the period is obscure, materials are few, and at variance with each other. The historian of Manchester has undertaken to illustrate the martial life of Arthur, and has formed it into a regular narrative; but I feel more satis-

faction in the plain facts adduced by Mr. Turner (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. b. 2. c. 5.) in this object of research, than conviction from the reasoning of the former.

“ Primum bellum—juxta hostium fluminis quod dicitur Glein,” Glein, *Gale*. Glean, *Gildas*. In margine. Devonia et Gleni, sed rectius Glein in Lincolnia, ubi Glemford nunc. “ Vortigernus dedit Hengisto Liocolniam; unde eum expellere certant Britones bellis sequentibus, sub Aurelio, Vortigerno et Arthuro.”

Whitaker supposes the Lyne, in Northumberland, here meant. Others, the Lun, in Westmoreland and Lancashire, (a part of the island, into which we know not that the Saxons had yet penetrated); and some the Leven, in Cumberland. The latter appears most probable, and that it is to this engagement, that Lywarç Hêñ, in his plaintive elegy, (*Ju Henaint ac veibion*) or old age and loss of his son, probably alludes.

“ Gwêñ, by the Llawen, watched last night.”—

“ Arthur did not retreat.”—

“ He darted through the slaughter of the green embankment.”

“ On the ford of Morlas, Gwêñ was slain.”

The word *hostium* implies vicinity to the embouchure of a river. The Leven runs into the Solway Firth, a little to the south of Kirksop. This quotation proves, that Arthur was at the battle of Llaven. There is a village, not too distant to have been the scene of action, which still bears the name of Arthuret. We know that the space between the walls, was at this period the source of bitter and incessant contest. Lywarç Hêñ was prince of Argoed, (or above the wood bordering westward on the forest Celyddon) in Cumbria, and his territories have been on the limits of this river. (Owen's *Lywarç Hêñ. Preface*, p. ix.)

“ Secundum, tertium, quartum, ac quintum, super aliam am-nem—Duglas—in regione Linnuis.”

Both this river and the region are decided by Higden (p. 225.): “ Hodie fluvius ille vocatur Dugglis et currit sub urbe Wigan, per decem milliaria à fluvio Mersee distante, in comitatu Lan-castriae.” Whitaker (*Manch.* vol. ii. p. 36.) displays much topographical knowledge and ability, in pointing out the sites of these

engagements, of which he discovers some remarkable traces, both actual and traditional, within a few miles of Blackrode,—and the existence of these battles—“on the banks of the same rivulet, (the Duglas) all conspire to point out four engagements, and all agreeing with the history of Nennius, is very singular in itself, and decisive in its evidence.”

“Sextum bellum, super flumen quod vocatur lusas.”

Supposing that this is connected with the same campaigns, as the fifth and seventh engagement; Whitaker (*Manch.*, vol. ii. p. 52.) places it between Lancashire and Englewood Forest, in Cumberland, as it follows immediately the engagements on the former, and immediately precedes the action in the latter.

He, therefore, conceives it to be the little Pesa, which directly crosses the road from the Duglas to the Forest, and is passed by a bridge, about four miles and a half to the north of Burton.

“Septimum—in siva celidonis, quæ brytanicæ cacoit celidan nominatur.”

This battle is supposed to have been fought in the northern district. The true reading is Cad coed celydon or Celyzon,*

* The root is “Cêl (s. m.) signifying shelter,” from whence “Celyz, (s. m.) a sheltered place, a retreat, a woody shelter. Coed (s. pl.) wood timber trees.” (*Owen's Welsh Diction.*) Coed Celyzon, the forest of Caledonia, in North Britain; but as may be easily seen from the import of the word, other extensive woods in this island were called by the name of Celyzon.

The exact meaning of Celt is covert; Ceillwys and Celiaid were the people of the coverts; and Belwys, Belgwys and Belgiaid, were those who made irruptions out of the borders, or Warriors; and the Peithwys were the exposed people; whether, because they went naked, or that they dwelt in the open or desert country, is not certain. The Welsh call Ireland Y Werddon, or the western country; but the people are denominated Gwyddyl, the inhabitants of the woods or wilds. The name for Scotland, is Alban, the higher or upper region; but the people are called Yagodion, the inhabitants of the shades or coverts. It is remarkable, that the names for both nations should be synonymous, and also, that the great forest in the north of Britain should be called Coed Celydon, the wood of coverts or shades.” (*Owen's Preface to the Elegies of Llywelyn Hén.* p. xxii.)

The Caledonian forest is often alluded to in old romances:

“Rinaldo,

“Sopra la Scotia ultimamente sorte.

“Dove la Selva Caledonia appare.”

Orlando Furioso, c. 4. s. 51.

or the battle of the wood, or of the woodland country. (*Owen's Lywarch Hen. Preface*, p. xxii.) In ancient times the word Caledonia seems to have been the appellation of the forests in Britain. This is explained by Richard. (p. 18-26.) It is used in classic writers : Lucan and Florus, speaking of the second expedition of Cæsar, and referring to the eastern extremity of the Caledonian wood—" Unde Caledoniis fallit turbata Britannos." " Rursus Britannos, Caledonias sequuntis in silvas."

Three of these forests were particularly distinguished by their great extent. One of them comprehended parts of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Rutland, and Northamptonshire. Another ranged from Kent to Somersetshire. (*Richard*, p. 18.) The other lined the hills, and swept along the western coast, and stretched considerably towards the south of northern Britain. It was this forest that apparently fixed the name of Caledonia both on the district and inhabitants. " Ad occidentem igitur Vararis (the Murray frith) habitabant Caledonii propriè sic dicti, quorum regionis partem tegebat immensa illa Caledonia sylva." (*Ibid.* p. 82.) The Caledonian forest is now said to exist only in the forest of Eglewood, which of late years (but is recently inclosed) ranged across the county of Cumberland, sixteen miles in length, from Penrith to Carlisle. About half a mile from Penrith, between the two currents of the Loder and Eimot, remains a sort of extemporaneous fortress, somewhat circular, of loose flints, which is to this day called king Arthur's round table; this may have been the scene of the seventh engagement (*Camden*, p. 831. *Whitaker, M.* vol. ii. p. 38.)

" Octavum—juxta castellum Guinnion."

From an authentic MS. of Leland's (*Whitaker, M.* vol. ii. p. 39.) Guinnion was the stationary town of Binchester, in the bishoprick ; the Vinonia of the Ravennas.

" In quo Arthur portavit imaginem sanctæ Marie Virginis super humeros suos."

This may signify merely the figure of the Virgin, which, according to Tysilio, was impressed upon the shield of Arthur.

The following addition (of very suspicious authority) is taken

from Gale's *Nennius* (cap. 62.): "Nam Arthur Jerosolimam perrexit, et ibi crucem ad quantitatem salutifiræ crucis fecit, quæ ibi consecrata est; et per tres continuos dies jejunavit, vigilavit, et oravit coram cruce dominica, ut ei Dominus victoriam daret per hoc signum de Paganis; quod et factum est; cuius fractæ adhuc apud Wedale in magna veneratione servatur. *Wedale* Anglice: *Vallis doloris*, Latine: *Wedale* est villa in provincia Lodonesie (Lothian), nunc vero juris episcopi santi *Andreae* Scotiae, 6 milliaria ab occidentali parte, ab illo quondam nobili et eximio monasterio de Meilros."

There were no bishops of St. Andrew's till after the year 834.

"Nonum aegit bellum in urbe Ieogis, quæ brytannicè cair lion dicitur;"

Generally assigned to Caer Lleon upon Uske, in Monmouthshire. As almost all the battles were fought in the north, Mr. Whitaker observes, that by this location the order of succession in which they are related would be broken, suggests a change of arrangement between the ninth and the first: he places that before us at Chester. (*Manch.* vol. ii. p. 39.) I find not sufficient reason for admitting this emendation; but am rather inclined to think both these places wrong, and that the true site of this battle is still undiscovered. If we admit the definition of Caer Lion (No. 11.) in the list of cities, the word implies no more than a place situated on the banks of a river.

"Decimum vero gessit bellum, in littore fluminis quod nos vocamus trat treuroit."

In the opinion of Langhorne, (p. 60.) on the Ribell, in Lancashire.

"Undecimum, in monte qui nominatur breguoin; ubi illos in fugam vertit, quem nos cat bregon appellamus;"

The scene of this engagement has been supposed at Edinburgh. Langhorne (p. 61.) transfers it to Somersetshire, a country which seems to agree with the later positions of Arthur. This

writer assigns it to Cadbury, near the village of Camlet, where the palace of Arthur was traditionally built.

"Duodecim, contra Saxones durissimè Arthur bellum in monte badonis penetravit."

Badon hill, where this battle is supposed to have been fought, is "that which we now call Bannesdown, hanging over a little village near the city named Bathstone, and shewing at this day its bulwarks and a rampire." (*Camden*, p. 70.) This was the most important victory that Arthur ever gained; it gave so great a check to Cerdic and his son Cynric, that they made little progress in their conquests for several years.

(¹¹⁴) "Usque ad tempus quo Ida regnavit."

The colony of Saxons, under Octa and Ebissa had settled on the eastern coast of Britain, between the walls of Severus and Antoninus, as has been already mentioned. We know very little of the history of that colony for great part of a century afterwards; it was at a great distance from their countrymen in the south, and surrounded by enemies. In A. 547, Ida arrived at Flamborough Head, with a large fleet and body of troops; he founded the kingdom of Northumberland, then denominated Bernech (*Brynaich*) the capital of which was Bamburgh, (*Camden*, p. 860.) and his territories comprehended Northumberland, the counties of Merse, and the three Lothians, on the western coast of the ancient Roman province of Valentia.

Our author records that he reigned also in Cair Affrauc (*Evræuc*). York was the capital of the kingdom of Deivryr, or Deira; and this extension of the conquests of Ida to the banks of the Humber, is to be met with in our author only. The founding of the kingdom of Deivryr is generally attributed to the successors of *Ælla*, in 560, on the decease of Ida.

The Triads record three British chieftains of Deivryr and Brynaic not elsewhere recognized. These, by their patriotism and bravery long supported the national honour against these Saxon invaders. Their names are Ysgavell, Gall, and Disedel,

the sons of Dygyvy; they accepted of their domains after their initiation in Bardism. They are applauded in a triad, as the three brothers who committed the three praiseworthy assassinations of the isle of Britain. Ysgavell was distinguished for slaying the Saxon prince Edelfled. (*Camb. Biog.* under the respective names of these commanders.)

(¹¹⁵) “Ad hunc quem nunc scribimus annum,” &c.

The reader is referred to a similar passage, Note (²⁵).

(¹¹⁶) “In illo tempore sanctus Patricius.”

This saint is allowed to have been a strathclyde Briton, who was carried away by the Irish in one of their predatory incursions on the south-west coast of Caledonia. He recovered his liberty, and returned to his native country; he was in like manner taken away a second time, and again obtained his freedom. He passed into France, and went to St. Martin, bishop of Tours, who was his uncle. He afterwards studied under St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre. He visited Rome, whence he was delegated by Celestine I. (A. 422-431) to propagate the gospel. He lived forty years afterwards (*Jocelin in Vit.*). “Padrig, the son of Mawon, also called Padrig Maenwyn, of the land of Gwyr, the celebrated apostle of the Irish, to whom there is a church dedicated near the place of his nativity, at Aberllychwr.” In the genealogy of the British saints there is this curious notice of Padrig. “It was the glory of the emperor Theodosius, in conjunction with Cystennyn Lyddaw, surnamed the Blessed, to have first founded the College of Illyd, which was regulated by Bale-rus, a man from Rome; and Padrig, son of Mawon, was the principal of it before he was carried away a captive by the Irishmen.” The truth of this record is corroborated by the remarkable fact in the history of Wales, that the Irish were enabled to settle themselves along nearly the whole extent of its coast, in the beginning of the fifth century, and continued there until nearly the middle of the same era; when they were expelled from the north by the natives, assisted by the sons of Cunedda, as before men-

tioned, and from the south with the aid of Urien. (*Camb. Biog.*
V. Padrig.)

(¹¹⁷) “ Et illud nomen patricius in ordinatu sumpsit, quis antea Mauum vocabatur.”

“ The meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the illustrious name of Patricius, which by the conversion of Ireland, has been communicated to a whole nation.” (*Gibbon*, vol. vi. c. 36. p. 229. n.)

“ The custom of adopting a change of name (Note 4.) or of making addition to that which the party originally bore, was, upon great occasions, common both to ecclesiastics and laics. “ *Nomina mutari, in confirmatione possunt, ex constitut.* Odonis Episcopi Parisiensis, cap. iv. sect. 4, &c. Summos Pontifices nomina consuevisse notum est, quod *Sergium Papam primum fecisse scribunt, quod Osporci vocaretur mutabant Monachi :* quod in aliquot ordinibus ecclesiasticis etiam hodie in usu est. (*Du Cange, nomen mutari.*) In imitation of the “ *Natalis Imperatorum,*” or the inaugural day of the Roman emperors, we find that of “ *natale episcopatus*” applied to bishops, denoting the date of episcopal ordination, so early as the time of St. Austin. In both, these festivals were observed with great solemnity. (*Bingham*, vol. ii. b. 4. c. 6. s. 15.—vol. ix. b. 20. c. 1. s. 4. The want of discrimination between the day of *natural birth*, and that of advancement to the *episcopal throne*, is the occasion of many chronological errors in ecclesiastical historians.

(¹¹⁸) “ *Quadraginta diebus et xl. noctibus in cacumine montis eli jejunavit, idest cruachangli :*”

The purgatory of St. Patrick in the mountain Cruachan Aigle, is thus described by Colgar. “ *In hujus igitur montis de Cruachan Aigle cacumine jejunare ac vigilare consuescant plurimi, opinantes se postea nunquam intraturos portas inferni qui a hoc impetratum a Domino putant meritis precibus S. Patricii. Referunt etiam nonnulli qui pernoctaverunt ibi se tormenta gravissima fuisse passos quibus se purgato à peccatis putant.* Unde ut quidam

illorum locum illum purgatorium S. Patricii vocant." (*Vallanccey, Collect. de Reb. Hibern.* vol. iv. p. 74, Pref.)

Camden is particular in describing the site of this celebrated cavern. "The Liffer, not very far from the very head and rise of it, diffuses itself into a broad lake, which contains an island; therein stands a little monastery, near which there is a narrow vault, famous for I know not what terrible sprights and apparitions, or rather some religious horror; digged by Ulysses, when he made his descent into hell, as some ridiculously imagine. The natives at this day call it Ellan u' frugadory, that is the isle of Purgatory, and Patrick's Purgatory." (*Camden, Donegal*, p. 1019.)

"The purgatory of St. Patrick was a small artificial cavern formed in a little island one hundred and twenty-six yards long by forty-four broad, and was denominated Macra, situated in Lough Derg, in the southern part of Donegal. It was resorted to and venerated as a retreat of singular sanctity; and round it were built seven chapels, four of which were dedicated to the Saints Patrick, Columba, Bridget, and Morlas. This purgatory was once called Llamb Freibb Oin, or the cave of the tribe of Oin—Owen once entered this cavern, where he beheld the joys of Elysium, and the pains of Tartarus. His visions are circumstantially narrated by Matthew Paris, and the fable was afterwards taken up by Henry, a Cistercian monk; according to him, Christ appeared to St. Patrick. A college of regular canons there founded—must have been a later forgery, since regular Canons had no existence before the tenth century,* yet the ground-work of the story of the name of Owen is taken from Bede." (*H. E. l. 4, c. 3.*) (*Ledwich Antiq. of Ireland.*)

"That fabulous purgatory, the invention of which is falsely ascribed to him, (St. Patrick,) was the device of a Monk of Glastenbury Abbey in England, who bare the same name, but was of a much later time, and lived about the year 850. For the

* The clerical order between the regular and the secular clergy, originally called "patres dominici," but soon after Canons, was formed in the 8th century. (*Mosheim, vol. ii.* p. 74.)

opinion of a fiery Purgatory, in which souls are tormented after their going forth of the body, was not then known among Christians; nor did the ancient Irish believe any such matter.*
(*Spotswood*, b. 1, p. 8.)

THE END.

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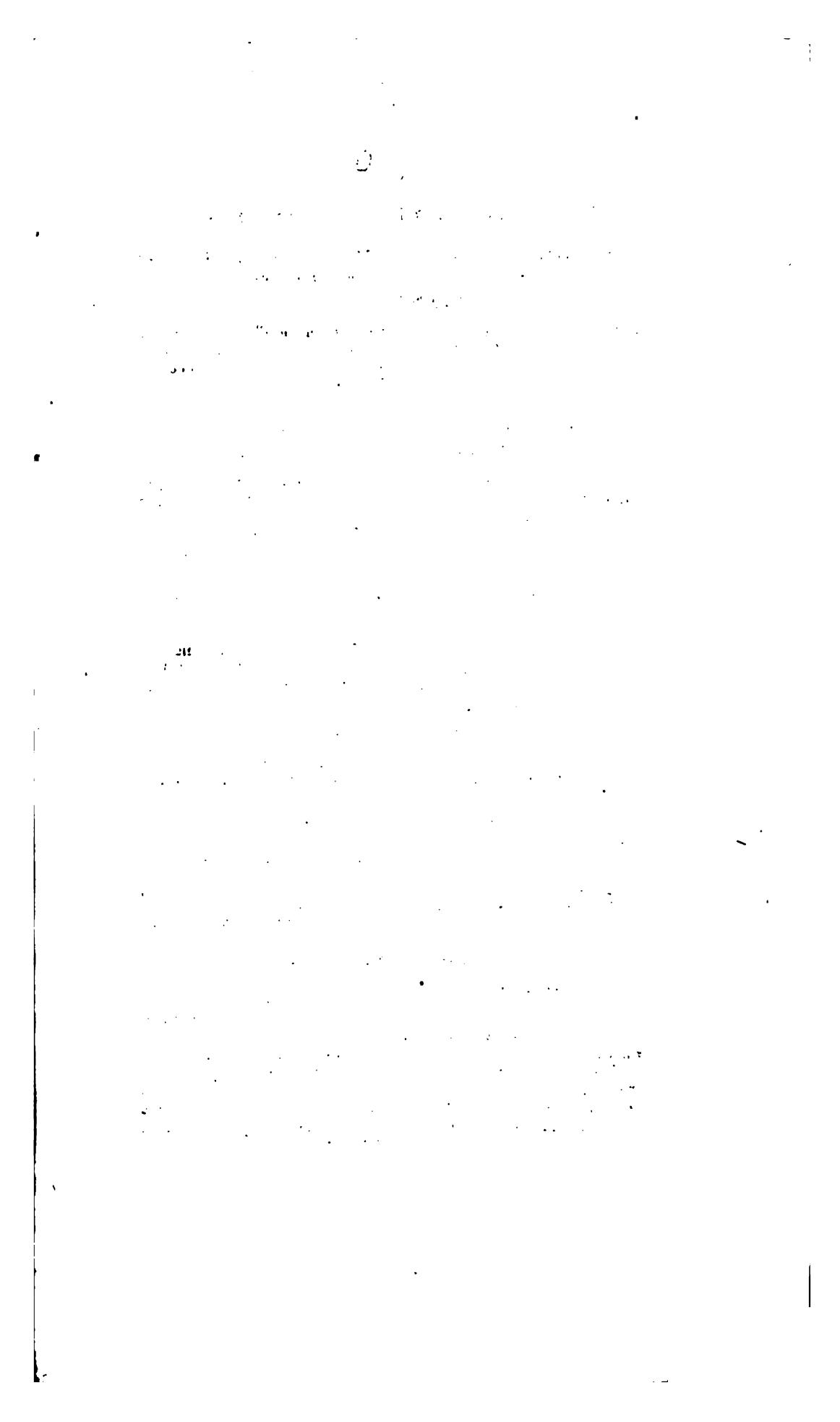
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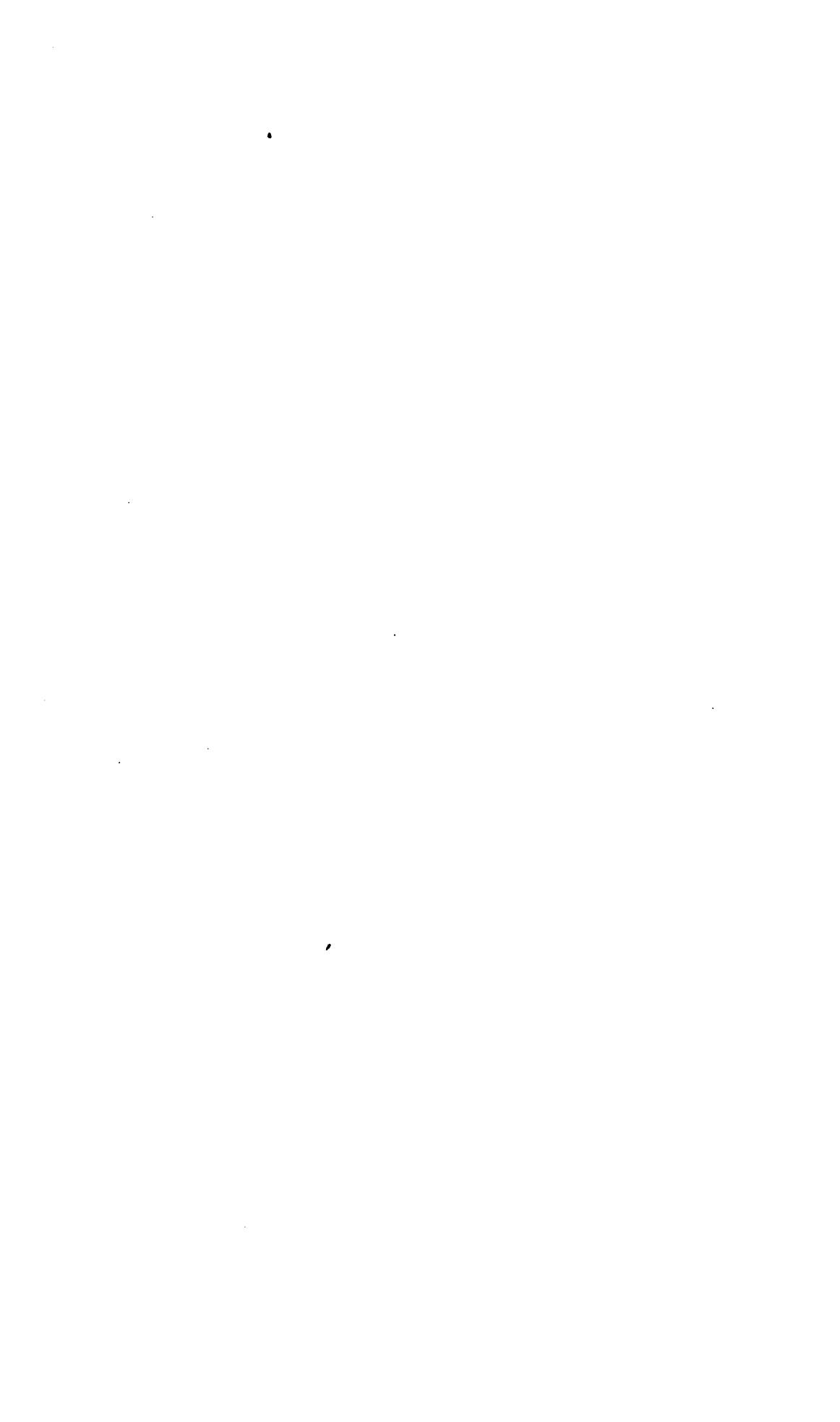
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